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ABSTRACT

This series of discussions is based on an experiment, created by a multidisciplinary French Civilization Group in Seattle, the purpose of which was to compare the ways in which different cultures deal with certain civic issues. Four discussions were held over a period of two months. Two were concerned with day care education, one with bilingual/bicultural education, and one with urban-regional planning. The session on day care contrasted the American model with the French, or Latin-European, the Scandinavian, and the Socialist models. The session on bilingual/bicultural education compared the American approach to that of West Germany. The final session described the French government's efforts after World War Two to decentralize government and industry, and compared these efforts to the United States' efforts at urban and regional planning. Each session consists of presentations followed by a discussion. (AM)

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American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience

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DAY CARE

Preschool education for children from age 2 or 3?

BICULTURAL EDUCATION

What schooling for children whose native language is not English?

URBAN PLANNING

A regional dimension? The French experience

FL009053

The University of Washington

Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.

1977

American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience

A Series of Public Discussions

Organized by the Community Advisory Board
of the Multidisciplinary French Civilization Group,
and Co-sponsored by:

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Alaska-Washington Chapter

Bellevue Community College Foreign Language Program

The Cercle Français de Seattle

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The Lakeside School

Seattle Pacific College

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Final Report of the
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INTRODUCTION

THE EXPERIMENT, ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

In 1974, a multidisciplinary French Civilization Group was created by "grassroots" initiative of University of Washington faculty members and students from several departments, beginning with Romance Languages, History, Geography, and Communications. Its purpose was not only area study but the application of a "teachable understanding" of this West-European culture at all age levels, in school and beyond.

In 1975, the Group created a Community Advisory Board to advise it concerning ways to bring the knowledge of specialists to the adult community of the Seattle area.

The present series of discussions was developed by the Board as an experiment primarily for the purpose of demonstrating to mainstream Americans that we can learn from other peoples who, in some fields at least, have gone farther than we in realizing some of the values we share with them. There exists a complacent cliché, a near-sighted self-concept as "the greatest nation," which obstructs a realistic and imaginative approach to our civic issues.

Initially, the experiment was to present several facets just of French culture, in order to find out whether the participants could come to experience one foreign culture's values and problems subjectively, and thus establish for themselves an alternative vantage point from which to see the present world-- including ourselves-- in a relativistic perspective. This feature of the experiment proved unworkable, at least in this series, which was shortened to fit a reduced budget. The demonstration which had been the primary purpose was carried out in the broader context of examples from several countries, with the result Harry Reinert has summarized and evaluated. One may wish to read his summary as an orientation to the expositions and discussions.

The discussion series could not possibly have been conceived and carried out without the effort of many persons; and its fruition in a second series has required still more numerous contributors. The most involved of all of these will be singled out for grateful acknowledgment in the final section of this report, where mention of the continuing project will be appropriate.

D A Y C A R E

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PUBLIC POLICIES FOR CHILD CARE PROVISION IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

MARTHA A. DARLING

Introduction

The United States lacks a national policy for child care provision. The federal government does fund a small collection of programs providing a limited number of services for a limited number of poor and/or deprived families and children. There is also some public provision at the state and local level, generally conditional upon financial assistance in the form of federal matching or bloc grant monies. Provision at these levels tends to be haphazard, fragmented, uncoordinated and of uneven quality and insufficient quantity. Federal government activity in the child care field tends to concentrate on the formulation of standards and regulations for quality and safety while leaving the actual provision of services to the market mechanism. As in other areas of social policy, the United States has preferred to give indirect assistance in the form of tax deductions to all but the poorest users of child care services rather than extend direct assistance through subsidies to programs, which is viewed as interfering with the operation of the free market in goods and services.

Increasingly, however, the inadequacies of the market mechanism in providing sufficient numbers of child care places of acceptable quality and at a price middle and lower middle income parents can afford have generated considerable pressure on public authorities at all levels of government to "do something". The federal Mondale Brademus Comprehensive Child Development bill and the actions of a variety of states in creating Offices of Children or of Child Development are prominent among the public measures designed to assist parents in securing adequate care and good development for America's youngest citizens. The Mondale Brademus bill has not, however, become law, and state

Offices of Children can accomplish only so much without fairly substantial financial help from the federal government.

At the same time, the demand for child care services continues to grow, arising as it does from fundamental changes in family structure and living conditions which have diminished the ability of even the "normal" family to provide for all their children's needs alone. Among the most important of these social changes, which have accompanied industrialization and urbanization in all industrial societies, are:

1) In more and more families, both parents are working, training for work or studying.

2) There are increasing numbers of single parent families with young children.

3) Not all families are equal in their ability to create an enriched, stimulating home environment for their young children. Where parents are less advantaged, because they are non-English speaking or are of lower socio-economic or educational backgrounds, their children often arrive at school age without the basic social and intellectual skills which can be important to success in school - skills which children from middle class families are more likely to develop at home.

4) Even the "normal" American family's ability to provide all the stimulation their young children require for social and emotional development has been seriously eroded by changes in family size and living conditions. The extended family of the past, with its three-generation mix of grandparents, parents and numerous children, has been replaced by the nuclear American family of two parents and two or three children. Grandparents and older siblings are less frequently available to share in the care and provide variety in the social contacts of younger children. The changing patterns of urban accommodation - more and more, self-contained urban apartments in

large urban blocks and suburban single home tracts of women and children - have further contributed to the nuclearization and isolation of the modern family and to the disappearance of informal family and community support systems which have in the past been important in helping families raise their children.

For all of these reasons, it is highly likely that pressure will continue to build in the United States for a more significant federal role in child care provision - for a national public policy for child care provision.

In a sense, the United States is fortunate in entering the child care field late, for there already exist a number of policy models to examine in the legislation and experience of other advanced industrial countries. The last five years, in particular, have witnessed a virtual explosion in governmental activity on public policies for the care and education of young children in almost every nation of Europe and in Canada as well. In some countries this activity represents the early steps in the creation of a national program or system. In others, where child care systems have been in existence for some time, parliaments are or will be considering extensive additional legislation which will dramatically expand these systems. It seems reasonable to assume that in these developments beyond our own borders American policy makers and the American public may find ideas, insights and innovations which could be borrowed and adapted for use at home.

But first a caution. Before any such borrowing or adapting takes place, it is important that we try to understand how certain countries have come to have certain policies. We need to attempt to distinguish between policies which have remained unique to one country or a small group of countries and those which are found in a number of countries. For only then can we begin to understand how the policy approaches different countries and groups of countries have taken relate to their own historical-cultural context and their social values in ways

which make them similar to ourselves (hence a greater possibility of borrowing) or different from ourselves (hence a greater difficulty in borrowing). Only then will we be able to understand the needs of the American scene for policy or a certain type and the policy approaches which might meet those needs. (Although this brief paper does not go into much depth on the history, culture or social values of the countries whose policies are discussed, all readers are encouraged to do so.)

Four National Models of Child Care Policy

Every country's policies for child care provision are in many ways unique. Having stated this obvious point, I would add that patterns do nevertheless emerge in the approaches of the different countries of Europe and North America which tend to group certain countries together. After studying the policies of a number of these countries, I have identified four main patterns or approaches in public policies for the care and education of young children. These "national models", as I have characterized them, are:

1) the crèche/kindergarten system, or "French" or "Latin European" model;
2) the recently developed comprehensive integrated day nursery system or "Scandinavian" model;
3) the highly centralized crèche/kindergarten system or "Socialist" model; and,
4) the fragmented, voluntaristic "Anglo-Saxon" model.

The "French" or "Latin European" model

In the Latin system, child care is largely under public auspices, with policy determined by the central government and programs administered and operated locally. Two largely consecutive age-related systems, the crèche for children under three and the kindergarten for children from 2½ or 3 to school age, constitute the preschool system. There is a clear dividing line between these two systems: The crèches are under the ministerial control of the

Ministry of Health and Welfare and have historically tended to emphasize physical care and protection, health and cleanliness. They also involve a parent fee. The kindergartens, on the other hand, fall under the Ministry of Education, are conceived as part of the state's responsibility for public education, and emphasize cognitive and social development. They usually do not involve a parental fee. Enrollment rates differ considerably between the two systems as well: For the kindergartens, the rate is over 80% in France and over 90% in Belgium for the 3-6 year old group; enrollment in the crèches falls markedly with approximately 15% to 20% of the under three age group served in both countries. . . .

In some ways the kindergarten system is highly centralized and in some ways it is not. The government sets policy, pays teacher's salaries (the largest part of ongoing operating costs), is involved in designing and financing buildings, and provides for the training of teachers. A hierarchy of supervision and direction exists under the Ministry of Education. The central government does not, however, issue a standard curriculum. Instead it is left to the individual teachers, the directress of the school and especially the regional inspectress to develop the program of activities for the children. As a consequence, the design of classroom activities depends very much upon the point of view and the leadership capabilities of the regional inspectress. And while classrooms always differ significantly within any given district, they also differ markedly form one district to another. Some inspectresses encourage spontaneity, creativity and the development of positive attitudes toward learning; others are more concerned with orderliness and school-related achievements.

The kindergartens are basically educational, with "classes" in both the morning and afternoon, but most of them also serve the function of day care centers, with care provided before and after school time and at the lunch break for a fee. Kindergarten classes are large, with average enrollments of

approximately 40 children per teacher in France (the teacher is aided by several assistants) and approximately 26 children per teacher in Belgium, aided by several assistants. With such large groups, discipline can tend to be overemphasized and the children may not benefit from much individualized attention.. . . .

The crèches in both Belgium and France offer much more favorable adult/child ratios and smaller sized groups than do the kindergartens (in the 1:5 - 1:8 range). They are expensive, however, and parents are required to pay a fee for the service provided. Crèches are specifically intended for use by working parents, but the fee required often means that only middle income families with one or at the most two children make use of the facilities. Less expensively privately arranged family day care (FDC) is often used by working parents. In the Latin countries officially organized and supervised FDC is also generally available as part of the public care system. In France it is less expensive than crèche care: in Belgium, fees in officially organized FDC are identical to those charged for crèche care. Despite their cost crèche places are in great demand in both Belgium and France, and governments in both countries are pledged to expansion in this relatively underdeveloped sector.

The Latin crèche/kindergarten system should be viewed in the context of the explicit "family policy" that most Latin countries have. The offer of child care on an extensive basis outside the home is but one important part of a system of social service supports and social insurance benefits related to the care and upbringing of children. French family policy, for instance, includes paid maternity leave, children's allowances, housing allowances to low-income families with several children, allowances to mothers remaining at home with their children, allowances to help low-income families meet child care expenses, discounts for large families, extensive mother and infant health programs and the like.

The Scandinavian model

The principles which guide Scandinavian social policy, including child care policy and family policy, focus very largely on the individual's right to help from the community when in need. While voluntary efforts can supplement public provision, charity can never replace or delay public efforts financed by taxation. Public services, based on general taxation, are the legislated right of all citizens. . . .

A dimension of social values which is important in understanding the Scandinavian approach to child care policy is the stress placed in national policy, most pronounced in Sweden, on securing support for the family and on equality between the sexes. . . . In light of the emphasis placed on equality between women and men, increased prominence has been given to the up-bringing of children and the costs families must bear. The concept of child rearing as a responsibility which should be shared by the parents and society enjoys a level of acceptance in Scandinavia which does not exist nearly to the same degree in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries. And there are, in consequence, an extensive number and range of public programs and policies to support the family in bringing up its children. For example, Scandinavian policymakers are generally exploring ways in which various social policies can even out family living standards between the period when the family's needs are greatest - when children are young and parental earning power is less - and the period when the family's maintenance burdens are lightest - when children are older and when earning power is greater and two parents can work. The children's allowance is intended to provide in part of the direct consumption cost to the family with raising a child. And social insurance now provides benefits to parents absent from work for various child-related reasons, e.g. Sweden's provision of paid leave for a parent taking care of a sick child and extended six- or seven-month maternity leaves in Finland and Sweden (parental leave in Sweden's case, which allows fathers

as well as mothers to share this leave to care for their new babies.) Finally, there is the public provision of child care centers.

The greatest common problem for the Scandinavian systems is that of quantity. Despite the high percentages of working mothers (except in Norway, where the figure is now on the increase), the excellent high quality public child care centers can accommodate only a relatively small proportion of the children requiring some daytime care. In 1973 Sweden enrolled approximately 28% of all children aged 6 months to 7 years in group programs (76% of all six-year-olds). In Finland the 1974 estimate was 17% of the same age group; in Denmark approximately 27% in 1973 (63% of the six-year-olds); and in Norway only 4% (11% of the six-year-olds).

In all the Scandinavian countries, family day care is available as part of the formally organized and subsidized child-care system. Considerable attention is being devoted to upgrading the quality of FDCs, with training courses offered for FDC mothers in both Sweden and Finland and under consideration elsewhere. Family day care does not, however, account for large numbers of children in care; the day nurseries are the dominant mode of Scandinavian care.

All of the Scandinavian preschool programs, with the exception of the preschool year program, require a parental fee. Fees vary according to family income, and children with two working or studying parents, with a single parent, or with specific needs are given priority.

Most of the Scandinavian countries have embarked on major expansion programs in the last five years which are designed to increase the number of places available in day nurseries. With the exception of the preschool year provision, the initiative for child care center creation and financial responsibility for capital construction and operating costs has remained with the local community. Because the ability of the municipalities is highly variable and very uneven,

However, the recent legislation has specified an increased financial role for central governments in supplementing local resources. . . . As important as the financial commitment of the central governments in Finland and Sweden is the new emphasis on local planning which is found in the child care legislation of both countries. . . .

Scandinavian preschools tend to be of high quality. Most are housed in specially designed buildings or parts of buildings and they are consequently quite spacious and generously equipped for children's activities. Group size is usually no more than 20 for older children, and adult:child ratios tend to be a favorable 1:5 or 1:6. Group size is smaller and ratios more favorable for children under 2½. Experimentation with mixed "sibling groups" of children 2½ or 3 to 7 is widely underway in Scandinavia, as is some exploration of alternative modes of staffing patterns and staff relationships.

The Socialist model

The Socialist model resembles the Latin model in its crèche/kindergarten institutional division of child care functions, although the relatively recent reorganization and greater integration of the two in the Soviet Union may begin a move in the direction taken by the Scandinavians a decade ago. Because the Soviet policy change may set the pattern for the other Socialist model countries, a few words about the merger are in order. The previously separate crèche/kindergarten system has been reorganized to integrate care programs into single "nursery-kindergartens". The primary argument in favor of this change, an argument which is echoed in other European and North American countries, is that when crèches are special facilities, the staffs tend to concentrate on the physical care of their very young charges, to the exclusion of cognitive and socio-economic development. No one denies the importance of physical care to the very young, but the new recognition of the potential of very young children for learning and exploration,

suggests that traditional nursing is not enough. The Soviet Union was already in advance of other countries in developing curricula for children from infancy, with age-appropriate games, music and exercises. The integration of the two institutions fits well with Soviet beliefs about the importance of the child's early years and their systematic approach to facilitating child development from birth. In Hungary and Poland, among other Socialist countries, there has also been a special effort to reorient the thinking of the nursing staffs along more developmental lines. (The Latin countries, as previously noted, are also very concerned with broadening the conception of crèche care.)

As in the Scandinavian and Latin countries, "family policy" is the umbrella for an extensive system of health and social services and of subsidies which ease the financial burden of child-bearing and rearing in the Socialist countries. Provision is made for paid maternity leave, paid leave to care for children who are ill or who specifically need parental care, maternal and infant health centers, children's allowances and child care centers.

The Socialist countries have extensive systems of preschool provision which are, in general, highly centralized, well equipped, well staffed and available to relatively large numbers of children. Approximately 50 percent of all Soviet children aged 3 to 7 years and over 70 percent of the 3- to 7- year-olds in urban areas are enrolled in kindergartens. Crèches for younger children from 6 weeks to 3 years of age are fewer in number and serve far fewer children: only about 10 percent of this age group in the Soviet Union and fewer still in Poland and Hungary. As I have noted, a trend may be developing to combine the crèches with the kindergartens in what are called "nursery kindergarten" facilities.

The Soviet Union has perhaps the most highly developed national preschool curriculum of any in the world. The other Socialist countries, notably the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), tend to follow the Soviet example in

developing detailed plans of activities for children of different ages. Several Soviet research institutes are engaged in developing new approaches to early growth and learning and in revising old ones on the basis of continuing studies of child development and continuing observation of the children. The child's day involves both structured work, including music and physical exercises appropriate to the child's developmental level, and spontaneous play. Socialist child care institutions place great importance on developing in children cooperative attitudes toward each other; a sense of group membership and of collective responsibility, as opposed to individuality; and respect for work and workers. In recent years, increasing attention has been focused on cognitive development in Socialist kindergartens. Problem-solving skills and preparation or "readiness" for primary school are receiving greater emphasis. In addition, researchers are seeking to develop more effective ways to encourage creativity in young children.

Preschool programs tend to be highly centralized in the Socialist countries - the exception is Yugoslavia with its federal system - with the political-administrative details and the curricula tending to be specified at the top of the concerned governmental ministries and passed down to the local level for implementation.

The Anglo-Saxon model

Publicly supported child care in the Anglo-Saxon countries has its origins in World War II as women were drawn into the labor force in place of their soldier husbands. The provision of publically organized child care was regarded as essential if these women were to play their part in the wartime economy. Following the war, however, public funding was discontinued, often very abruptly, and those centers that continued into the late 1940's and beyond had to seek funding elsewhere. In fact, some local and state/provincial government authorities continued to provide limited financing to wartime child care systems. For the most part, however, social attitudes which had been accepting of central government-financed child care during

the war emergency now found that child care was both harmful to children and, as women rightly returned to their homes, unnecessary.

The very uneven provision of child care in the Anglo-Saxon countries and the ambivalence about child care of any type require explanation. Child care provision in the Anglo-Saxon countries is a far less tidy affair than in any of the other three national models discussed. The possibilities for making descriptive generalizations are consequently not nearly so great. For the characteristics of provision in these countries are closely related to some very strongly held social, political and economic values and beliefs, such as the large, independent role of the individual and the limited role and functions of government; distrust of government, especially of central government which is farther removed from the control of the local people and especially in matters relating to children, their education and the family; pluralism; the free marketplace in goods and services; and the importance of the voluntary/charity tradition in providing for those in need. As a result of these values and beliefs, the Anglo-Saxon approach to child care policy seems to be the reverse of that of the Latins, Scandinavians and Socialists. While policy in these countries appears to be based on the assumption of a positive public role and responsibility in assisting families with the rearing of children, with a predominant role assigned to government in the direct provision of goods and services to families, the Anglo-Saxons have tended to place their reliance on individual and voluntary activity and charity in meeting various social needs as far as possible.

The implications of these social values for public policy concerning child care are several. First, child care provision tends to involve multiple and overlapping systems of care, some of which are age-related (for children under 3 or for 4- or 5-year-olds) and some of which are not. This care takes place in

centers, in family day care arrangements, in kindergarten classes attached to primary schools and in the child's home, some is publicly supervised and regulated, much is not. Care is most often provided under private proprietary or voluntary agency auspices rather than under public auspices; The private sector is very important in Anglo-Saxon child care provision. In Canada, for instance, 75 percent of the day care and 50 percent of the part-day nursery schools are privately organized. Family day care, especially the unregulated, unlicensed variety, is very prevalent, as are other informal arrangements - more prevalent than in the other national models where public child care provision exists as a major option for parents seeking child care. Publicly licensed FDC is of growing importance, because of the growing demand and the requirements of a license to be eligible for public reimbursement for children from low income families. Day care centers are relatively less important. FDC arranged by public agencies is of limited importance. A variety of governmental authorities, in the fields of education, welfare and health (often with different objectives) have varying responsibilities in the child care field.

There is a sharp conceptual and practical break in the Anglo-Saxon countries between child care provision for children over three and those under three. Although a certain pragmatism now exists about the growing need for out-of-home care for very young children due to the increase in the numbers of working mothers and single parent families, the belief remains strong that maternal care or care by a close relative or even by a non-relative in the child's own home is much superior to group care. While center care for children over three is gaining popularity, the resistance to any form of group care for children under three, except perhaps for the small group setting of family day care, remains very high, as enrollment rates indicate: In Canada, 4 percent of the children under three are cared for outside their homes in publicly supervised care - principally in family day care.

By contrast, 28 percent of the children 3 to 6 are in care outside their homes, more evenly divided between center care and FDC. In the United States the overwhelming majority of children under three who are in child care are found in FDCs; still only percent of the under three group is in care outside their homes while 45 percent of the children 3 to 6 attend full or part-day preschool programs. The exception to this opposition to group care for any preschool children is the part-day nursery school, play group, or 1-year kindergarten (preschool year) programs. Such programs are, in fact, highly valued by the middle and upper classes for their assumed socialization and educational benefits and for "school readiness" preparation.

The size of groups and adult:child ratios in any of these programs are highly variable and are not subject to generalization.

The result of all this is a highly decentralized, fragmented collection of care arrangements, most involving little coordination with other social services affecting children or families, such as health care and mother and infant care programs. While Canada and the United Kingdon (UK) have limited national maternity leave programs, with paid coverage under unemployment benefits, the United States lacks any national policy. Canada and the UK also provide children's allowances; the United States does not. Other supports to families which constitute the "family policy" approach of the Latin, Scandinavian and Socialist models are absent from the Anglo-Saxon model. In general, the supports to families are less numerous, less comprehensive and less coherent in the Anglo-Saxon countries. . . .

The American Scene Today: A Postscript

Returning briefly to the American scene, I would offer a few observations on the difficulties faced by those who would favor a national child care policy.

-- We not only lack a system of child care, we also lack an articulated family policy and even the concept of a comprehensive approach to policies in support of families, many of which do exist but are not coordinated.

-- We have a complex multi-layered system of government, with national, state and local layers. Policy comes at all levels, implementation at all levels. Responsibility is sometimes hard to fix.

-- We believe in pluralism and choice and rely on the "free market" and private enterprise to provide an adequate range of goods and services at competitive prices from which we can choose.

-- We distrust the federal government in any controlling role in educational matters and in policies affecting normal families (though not, it seems, low-income AFDC families).

-- We do not share a sense of common objectives for child care or a commitment to the principle that the public interest is involved, that there are future costs to society of the neglect of children today.

-- We do not in general, at least not in government, believe in planning. We therefore tend to favor ad hoc approaches and solutions and to create a myriad of uncoordinated and often overlapping programs, rather than adopt a comprehensive approach to a problem. We are program oriented rather than problem oriented.

At the same time, American families need help in (1) paying for child care and (2) exercising real choice when facilities are so limited that <u>any</u> place sometimes is the only choice possible. These two problems are related, and the market system currently functioning in this country is not very helpful or responsive to the needs of families for child care.

Child care should, in my opinion, be viewed as a public social utility, like the school system. We need some infrastructure - child care centers - to assure that parents have alternatives among which to choose. Government must assume a supportive role in child care provision, in the building of infrastructure at the very least, if choice and pluralism are to operate in this vital area.

What would I like to see come in the U.S.? I would like to see a universal system for children of all parents who wish child care, on at least a part-time basis from the age of 2½ (like the French model); a mix of centers and FDC; some center and FDC provision for children under 2½, with some centers catering for children from birth to school age plus young school age children outside of school hours. All would be fee-paying by parents on an income related sliding basis, with state and local government picking up half of the remaining costs and the federal government the other half through bloc grants to states or cities.

None of this, of course, will happen quickly. Cities and states will have to start making major demands on the federal government for more monies on a matching basis and localities will have to make demands on the states. National policies will probably come only after a number of localities and states go a ways in developing their own policies and systems. Such has been the case with many other social policies in this country and I expect it to be the case with child care as well. While we do not change out ways quickly, we do change them, and I look forward to a future in which the needs of families and children will receive more of the attention they merit.

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DAY CARE IN AMERICA

MARGARET SANSTAD

Everyone examining public policy issues surrounding day care in America today agrees it is an extrodinarily complex issue. The primary question being debated is whether public funds should be provided to support a national system of day care facilities for children of working parents and, if so, at what level, in what form and under what conditions. In attempting to answer these questions, other issues that emerge have to do with child and family support policies, the cost of providing services, the potential impact of such programs on families and children, and a variety of moral and political considerations that demand a great deal of public discussion and debate.

In a recent study conducted by the prestigeous National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences the conclusions reached were that any discussion about day care should be guided by three basic principles. These were:

1. No child under the age of six should be deprived of the immediate care of one parent, if one is willing, simply because that parent has no choice but to work outside the home to enable the family to exist at a decent standard of living.
2. Any national program addressed to the needs of children and their families for such services must give priority to those in greatest need.
3. For parents who choose to work outside the home, there should be a range of child-care alternatives, from competent babysitters to highly developmental institutions or centers; and parents should be able to choose the kinds of services they feel best meet their children's needs, at a cost that does not require the sacrifice of other essential goods and services.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a need for day care that has not been adequately met. Much of the problem today results from the two types of pre-schools that emerged simultaneously over the years as society evolved and technology advanced. A first type is the traditional

private nursery school, designed for the middle and upper-class families as a means of educational and psychological development for children from three to five years of age. Day care or day nurseries, on the other hand, developed as a humanitarian effort by upper-class women as a service for the lower classes to free mothers to work. The nursery school was developed supposedly for educational purposes; day care was classified as a health and welfare function and thereby considered as a charitable program largely custodial in nature.

There were philanthropic day-care centers beginning in 1838, but it was not until the Depression in the 1930's and during World War II that any major efforts were undertaken by the Federal government. During the Depression day care programs were established to provide work for unemployed teachers, custodians, cooks and nurses. During the second World War when women were needed for the war effort, the Lanham Act was passed to fund day care to allow women to work in defense plants. When the war ended, the decision makers, believing the need for day care no longer existed, withdrew the funds, closing 2800 centers, leaving over a million and a half children without day care. However, statistics show that many women continued in the labor force and their numbers have continued to increase. Today there are approximately 7.2 million pre-school children whose parents work; 23% are children of single parents. Of this number only 1.3 million are in a licensed or approved day-care center, Head Start Program or family day-care home and approximately 1.7 million get informal out-of-home care.

In addition, there are 4.7 million children aged 3-5 who are in pre-school programs, public kindergarten, or private nursery, three quarters of which are part-day. Of all pre-school children in the county 79% of the 5-year-olds are in a pre-school program, 38% of the 4-year-olds and 20% of the three-year-olds. Because of the traditional separation of day-care and pre-school programs mentioned earlier, these programs are neither mentioned or considered as part of the day-care scene or as having the potential for helping to solve the problem, because we still hold to the idea of day care as somehow a service related to the poor. This has been reinforced by the amendments to the Social Security Act in 1967 which provided unlimited funds for day care and for AFDC-eligible[1] parents when Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements were drafted. The passage of Title XX of the

[1]Assistance to Families with Dependent Children.

Social Security Act making the FIDCR[2] law has drawn attention to the day-care issue as nothing had done before in history. People who care have an unprecedented opportunity to become involved with advocacy organizations that are now pressing legislators and governmental officials for change.

The fact must be faced that day care is a political issue at two levels: political in the sense of legislation being proposed, coalitions being formed - lobbying, voting, funding, etc.; but also political in the sense of society shaping its values as it balances its interests and decides how it should live. It touches our most basic ideas about alternative ways of raising children, of being parents and of forming families. On the political as well as professional level there must be much discussion, debate, and political give and take, dealing with all aspects of day care.

We must face up to the fact that day care is a necessity. Changing expectations of woman's roles combined with the economic needs of many families will continue to swell the numbers of mothers who work. Children and their immediate families are the primary victims of an economic system that requires or encourages mothers to work without offering child care services; but ultimately the whole society suffers the consequences rising from a lack of quality child care for young children.

Day care must be removed from its link with welfare and social deviancy, since in our society services thus linked are inexcusably substandard. Day care must not be seen just as a device for solving the welfare problem but should be available to working-class and middle-class mothers (probably on a sliding fee scale) and to families in general who choose to use day care as they make other family choices, and not as an indication of problem states. Day care must become a normal part of the social scene and not be seen as a "benevolent" service to certain categories of families.

Day care and the future of the family are closely linked. We must be careful not to bureaucratize and institutionalize an expert-dominated system of day care. It must be formally committed to strengthening the family by having parents play a dominant role in any day care program. There must be substantial and purposeful interaction between day-care services and the parents using them. This means that day care should be expanded gradually so that parents can be involved and responsible - and until sufficient time is given to training day-care staff. Time must be allowed for appropriate

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[2]Federal Inter-Agency Day-Care Requirements.

evaluation of the effect of a variety of programs on children and families who use them.

Day care must be more than custodial as it has tended to be in the past. It must be developmental and educational as well as providing adequate health and safety measures.

Because day care centers are most visible, there is a tendency to think of day care as being center-based,all other forms being ignored or thought of as poor substitutes. Many ways of providing care need to be explored and implemented, and a variety of systems and combinations of facilities and arrangements made available. Much attention and organizational effort should go into family day-care homes and systems that include family day care with other public and - or private child-care arrangements.

Along with day care we should be looking at many changes necessary to support and encourage new child rearing patterns, new roles for women and genuine family and child centeredness. There should be more flexibility in our present economic system so that child rearing can be shared by mothers and fathers and so mothers can work part time or share jobs as well as other ways of paring careers avoiding to stages in family life. Institutions such as the neighborhood school should be looked to for the possibilities it offers for a variety of day care programming as well as a place for offering other support services to the families who no longer have the support of the extended family. This is not to say that the school system should necessarily administer the programs (i.e. pre-natal classes, well-baby clinics, parent-toddler programs, day care, etc.) but rather that the facility, as space becomes more and more available, be used by the various existing agencies scattered over a city, to bring to one close-by, familiar setting the services necessary to the health and well-being of families.

While day care is but one service needed to support and strengthen families, it is one of the most vital,and one that we must find a way or ways to improve and expand if we are committed to the future of children, their families and society.

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MARGARET SANSTAD

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DAY CARE: THE DISCUSSION

JOSEPH FAMIGLIETTI and FRAN SOLIN, Rapporteurs[1]

Note: The moderator proposed that the discussion follow the sequence indicated here, from purposes to implementation. The participants left largely to the rapporteurs, however, the task of arranging their ideas in a logical order.

Elements of the Day-Care Issue

The problem of values:

What is good child development? What is lacking?
Independence and freedom to be reconciled with cooperativeness and responsibility
What are the ideals and the needs of the adults' well-being?
What types of mother-role and father-role should day care facilitate?
What differences should the socio-economic levels of parents make?

The problem of planning:

What pre-school age-span should be provided for?
How can we build upon the existing cultural patterns and social institutions?
What cultural and social forces are changing the needs to be met?
Should day care favor cooperation among neighborhood parents? involvement of all ages of adults? professional personnel?

The problem of standards:

What standards should be set for care and education? What standards for the training of the adults in charge?
Who should set the standards?
How should they be enforced?
Incentive grants?
Certification of personnel?
Accreditation of centers?

The problem of financing:

What costs should be borne by parents? the local community? the State government? the national government?

Of the many indices that measure a society's ability to survive, commitment to its children's health and development is primary. It has been recognized nationally that a major problem for many American families is the

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1. University of Washington graduate students in Child Welfare (Graduate School of Social Work) and in Educational Psychology, respectively.

necessity of finding some form of organized child care when there are insufficient resources to purchase it.[2] A national conference concluded in 1971[3] that "America's families, and their children, are in trouble. The source of the trouble is nothing less than a national neglect of children and those primarily engaged in their care-- America's parents. (p. 252) Our national rhetoric notwithstanding, the actual pattern of life in America today is such that children and families come last. (p. 10)"

The two discussions addressing this issue took place on March 31 and April 7, 1977. The group was small but diverse. The participants included language instructors, students of child welfare policy, members of the French community in Seattle, representatives from government agencies currently administering policies involving young children, public and private school teachers, students of early child care, a librarian, and a professor of educational psychology.

Values underlying child-care institutions

Prof. Abraham Keller (U.W. Faculty; Languages) - There are two strains of thought on the subject of whom institutions are to serve: Does the institution exist as a benefit for parents, or as a benefit for the child? Shouldn't the emphasis be on the latter? Could you explore this question in the light of European experience?[4]

Martha Darling - In France, for instance, the école maternelle has classes set for certain hours to fit children's educational needs. The facility is available, however, in early, late, and noon hours for families whose children need longer care; there is a fee for extra hours. In Scandinavia, these purposes are incorporated all together.

Keller - What has research shown to be the effect of these institutions on children?

Darling - Studies are very difficult to conduct on this problem. No studies are currently regarded as conclusive. Follow-up is lacking. What does show up, however, is that children who have had kindergarten experience are more comfortable in the group at first; they adjust better in the short term, but these differences fade out at the end of the first year.

The parents' role as seen and determined by society

Joseph Famiglietti (Graduate student in Child Welfare) - What is the extent of parental participation and control in these institutions?

Darling - Very little except in the U.S. (Anglo-Saxon model). None at all in France and Belgium. There is no emphasis on participation, volunteerism. In the Scandinavian model, it varies. Some encourage parental participation with just a little success. The parents work at hard and grinding jobs. There is sometimes no interest, and they are too tired to go to meetings.

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2. Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, Washington, D.C., National Academy of Sciences, 1976, p. 77.

3. Report to the President: White House Conference on Children, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

4. Although some of these quotes are paraphrases, the rapporteurs have tried to reproduce faithfully the gist of the discussion.

Prof. Howard Nostrand (U.W. Faculty; Languages; Analysis of culture) - Should parents be brought in? Should child care be professionalized?

Diane Burden (U.W. School of Social Work, Coordinator, Project on Women and Mental Health) - There is the question of different values. If children are seen as property of parents, as in this country, parents won't relinquish rights.

Darling - In the Scandinavian model, there is a large interest in future citizens, so more responsibility is granted to the state as a partner in the upbringing of children. So in France. There is a concern, especially in Scandinavia, that children, as citizens of the future, must be given equal opportunity in society. The Socialists have the greatest commitment of all to this viewpoint.

Question - In terms of these arrangements, what about the responsibility of parent to child; how is this viewed? Is the parent seen as shirking?

Darling - No. It is accepted that society must share the burden of child rearing.

Government rights and control

Keller - To account for such differences, is it a question of trust of state programs?

Darling - It is a question of the acceptance of the role of the state in such matters. In the U.S., we have a notion of individualism, coming perhaps from the origins of local government in the town meeting, the notion of pulling oneself up by the bootstraps. There are fundamental differences in political philosophy.

Models of child care and their history

Helga Pollack (Teacher, Southtown Preschool and Kindergarten) - Day care arose later in European countries, out of need for early childhood education. It has trust equal to that of public school.

Darling - The first kindergartens arose in isolated, poor areas. Froebel and Montessori attempted to compensate for disadvantaged living conditions, to enrich the experience of poor children. Then people began to ask, if it is good for the poor, why not the middle class? There was a boom after the war.

Technical questions: cost, training, scheduling

Question - What does good day care cost per child?

Darling - It is very expensive, but they feel an investment is made. 80% of money spent on child care goes to salaries, yet workers are still grossly underpaid.

Question - How much funding support is public, how much private in the various models?

Darling - In the U.S., 90% of funding is private. The U.S. is hung up on the standards problem; who should set them? This problem is resolved in Europe.

Question - When the state trains personnel, does this ensure that the product is always the same?

Darling - Training is quite differentiated. There are many institutions, philosophies, practicums. The result is not standardized.

Nostrand - This changes what I thought professional education would do.

Darling - Yes, it establishes a floor of competence, but it takes differences in teaching and learning styles into consideration.

Question - What about swing shifts? Twenty-four hour care, etc.?

Darling - Family day care fills this need. Training is carried out for FDC homes also. They are part of the larger system.

Question - Is what you spoke of in each country largely just the urban situation? What about the rural communities?

Darling - 80% enrollment in day care is the national average; the rural average is less. In Scandinavia, they are experimenting in sparsely populated areas with the mobile unit, offering pre-school activities. In agricultural areas the need for care is not so great. There is some busing to centers occasionally.

More questions of value

Nostrand - If research shows that it doesn't make much difference up to age three, what kind of care the child gets ...

Darling - Research doesn't show the difference. There are too many variables, too difficult to control. The quality of care does vary. For instance, in France, in the working-class areas outside the cities, where workers are well organized, there is agitation for better crèches; where there exists more socialist organization, the agitation for better care is greater.

Values and influence on policy

Nat Gross (Washington State Office of Program Planning and Fiscal Management) - What justification was used to grant parental leaves in Scandinavia?

Darling - Policies came out of trade unions and bargaining with employers. The basic equality of the sexes was government policy with Social Democrats.

Antoinette Wills (NEH - Seattle Project) - I'm curious about your statement that the U.S. has no family policy. What would it take to make the U.S. have one?

Darling - The only family policy we have now is through welfare, which is highly stigmatized. If the federal government took over welfare, then the states could devote more resources to child care. The states need to get out from under the burdens of welfare costs and administration. Welfare reform would do much for child-care policy.

Question - Are you involved with the child care legislation of Haley? This would use public school facilities as day care centers.

Darling - This does not mean that the same people would be running both. It refers to the use of buildings.

Exchanges of information and international research

Nostrand - Research is a good thing to trade. Is there an exchange of research in child care among countries?

Darling - There is much applied knowledge of child growth and development, of education and facilities. But little international cooperation is done.

- In the U.S., researchers ask the questions, not the people who run the programs. I would argue less for research than for gathering information to see what could be done. Research is often a delaying tactic.

- A note on parenting skills for teenagers and contact with young children. The Swedes have done much work in eliminating sex stereotypes, to create equal opportunity for all children.

- U.S. parents are over-read, over-studied, over-theoried-- confused. The French don't read so much about child-rearing, perhaps because the previous generation is still there providing some tradition, and some modeling.

H. Nostrand - I'd like to say it wasn't a problem of over-reading but one of a deficiency of thinking. Parenting should be given a great deal of thought-- perhaps as part of the humanities, too?

This ended the discussion for the first series. By and large, the concerns of this session were twofold: parental authority versus the state's participation in child rearing, and funding and policy decisions which might affect the organization of child care in this country.

The second speaker, Margaret Sanstad, raised the issues of the pressing need for a coherent child-care program, and provided a brief history of the separate roots of early childhood education and of day care in this country. As in the first address, an analysis of current conditions is made through a study of the past, and of the values and philosophy underlying the present.

Funding for child care services in the United States

Question - How are we to get industry and business to provide child care services, since they are the ones to benefit from the increased labor force?

Sanstad - It has been used as a bargaining tool by labor, particularly in Europe.

Nostrand - A problem with funding by businesses would be transportation.

Darling - One alternative is that slots may be purchased in the neighborhood of the families by business, rather than business getting into actually providing the services. Another is that business taxes could be funnelled into child care; this won't happen. A major problem with financing by business is that the child may become the pawn; all parents are not employed; work changes. Continuity of care is difficult to maintain under these circumstances. Also, it is not a stable basis for financing. The total fragmentation of the child care community runs counter to this solution.

Prof. Rose McCartin (U. W. Faculty; Educational Psychology) - The Russell-Sage report details several alternatives for industries to contribute to child care. Some involve job sharing and leave for parents of sick children.

Innovation in child care

Burden - What is the ideal in child care arrangements?

Sanstad - For society to shoulder some of the burden of child care. It is an impossible task, especially for single parents. There are several new ways to give support systems to parents. For instance, the use of

neighborhood school buildings for such programs as parent-toddler classes, co-op nurseries, well child clinics, classes teaching parenting skills, opportunities for elementary-age children to work with preschoolers.

Question - How would elementary children work with preschoolers?

Sanstad - There is an excellent curriculum developed for this purpose, to be used with the teachers' help: Exploring Childhood.

Nostrand - It is a good way to interest the community in young children, and a good way for elementary children to develop a taste for younger children.

Darling - This appears to be an artificial discussion. We are trying to re-create a natural learning situation which has been lost with smaller families. In larger families of the past, older siblings were placed daily in such a relationship with younger children.

Question - How do we fund these arrangements?

Sanstad - It is true that many of us have a reluctance to hand the control of these preschool programs over to the public schools, since their record is not so favorable. One alternative is to fund local groups, not the schools.

A participant - This would be in support of HB811, Haley's Bill, mentioned last week, to use existing schools, to renovate them for new purposes.

Darling - Some programs do exist in the communities which move in that direction, for instance those involving older people.

Sanstad - Urie Bronferbrenner, a prominent child psychologist, recommends that society view the child as a part of a larger community, and that child care provisions reflect this view.

Nostrand - This may be said for old people also.

Sanstad - Yes. Instead, old people are often frightened of their communities; their homes are bastions to protect themselves.

Relative roles of children, families, and government

Burden - What is the relationship of the issue of child care to children's rights?

Darling - I detest the "children's rights" issue. It places children and parents in an adversary relationship. The issue is larger than defining rights-- although in this country, "rights" is a prevalent viewpoint to take on such matters. It is rather an issue of families' rights to assistance, and of the mutual obligations of families and the state.

Gross - In a sense, children and parents are put in an adversary relationship. The family is a target of soft and hard sells by the TV-- witness the Saturday morning persuasion in which children are pitted against parents by advertising. How can industry and other institutions play a role?

Darling - They can change the way people work there, by solving problems of scheduling rigidity. The corporations' needs are the eight-hour work day, which has determined school scheduling.

Nostrand - We have the opportunity to exploit the American tendency to flexibility. Individuals are more synchronized in Europe.

Darling - We value pluralism and choices, yet there are no real choices. We need alternatives, if we are to be free to choose. The free market can't provide social utilities-- we found this out with public schools.

McCartin - We must attempt to provide supports, to get families back to the place where horrid things don't happen.

Sanstad - We must develop local planning bodies, community organizations.

Gross - To focus upon our own state in terms of financing-- can government be trusted? We have money. Could we redirect higher education monies to preschools and elementary schools? The choice is already made to fund higher education, and continuing education, rather than children.

Nostrand - Perhaps this is a question of who has the vote?

Gross - Yes, we prefer to educate adults rather than children.

Nostrand - Foreign language education, for instance, comes too late.

Gross - In view of the research in early child development, why is there no money in early years?

George Behan (Seattle University, Adult Education) - There are no eighteen-month-olds lobbying.

Darling - Despite this fact, the funds will not go to child care, because we as a society do not accept the premise that we should spend for child care.

Sanstad - Perhaps the feminist movement may in some respects cause changes in this premise as more men take on child-rearing responsibilities.

Darling - Let me offer here a facetious suggestion: in order to fund early childhood education, let us abolish the twelfth grade. In each marriage dissolution, let us give custody of the children to the father.

Concluding remarks

Darling - We operate within a vacuum of values. We claim to treasure mothers and children, but we don't think about their living conditions. We act as if the "free market" works for mothers; it doesn't work for parents who desperately need decent care and support for their families, and it doesn't work in the schools, either. We have no values, and any we may have are negative and one-sided with respect to the sexes.

Sanstad - The Carnegie Council for Children, directed by Kenneth Keniston, has written a noteworthy publication on the work ethic. The work ethic is viewed as a burden, not a value, decreasing the value of children. It values diligence and discipline, essentials for a cognitive and technological society. It demeans our esteem for human qualities, caring about each other. Are we, however, moving into a period of transition? Perhaps the human potential movement, and the interest in Eastern religions suggest a swing of the pendulum towards "human" values.

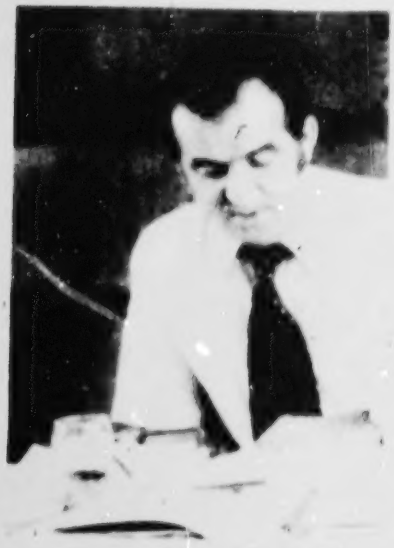
Gross - Is there any work done on physicians working with pregnant mothers? Anything cohesive?

Sanstad - Some spotty attempts.

Darling - In Europe the concern is not necessarily narrowly with parenting, but as part of a general family health policy; there are free mother-child clinics. But in this country, the prevailing macho-American style survives: a woman, baby in one arm, pulling up on bootstrap with the other.

PAUL McRILL, Coordinator of Foreign-Language Programs in the Seattle Public Schools, earned the Ph.D. in Spanish at the U. of Colorado. He taught there and at Ohio State, then served as Foreign-Language Supervisor for the Jefferson County (Colorado) Public Schools from 1958 to 1964. A visitor from the U. of Washington Romance faculty was so impressed with his achievement that he was invited to be an Assistant Professor in that Department, where he directed from 1965 to 1969 the Washington Foreign-Language Program of the Ford Foundation. In his present position, he initiated the district's program in English as a Second Language, and its first bilingual education, which now includes programs for 2,000 native speakers of fifty languages, added to the high-school courses in nine languages.

PAUL McRILL



HORST RABURA

HORST RABURA, an exchange teacher from Germany, was invited to the U. of Washington, where he is Associate Professor of Germanics. He has directed NDEA teacher-training institutes in the U.S. and in Germany, and has served as national director of the Experienced Teachers Training Program. During the 1970's he has been shuttling between Seattle and Bonn as director of a large project sponsored by the Ministry of Education of the Federal Republic of Germany. He was charged to design a curriculum for teaching German to the children of all the main ethnic groups of "Guest Workers" in grades 5 through 9, as well as vocational students. The result, Sprich mit uns! (Munich, 1975) combines books, picture cards, transparencies, puppets, tape drills, readers, language games and glossaries for Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian and Portuguese learners, plus 32 films and movies.

THE EDUCATION OF LANGUAGE MINORITIES IN SEATTLE

PAUL McRILL

The title of this talk suggests a broader coverage than I am prepared to give. What I will be talking about is public education in grades Kindergarten through twelve--not adult education, not colleges and universities, not private schools, church schools, Saturday schools, commercial schools, community schools, or any of several other educational ventures. All are important, but I don't know enough about them, and I have only twenty minutes.

Let me begin by reciting some facts and numbers. After that, I will offer some historical perspective, some interpretations of what is happening and why, and some speculation about the near and distant future.

Currently, some 60,000 students attend public schools in Seattle, a number that decreases year by year. A little more than 5,000 of those students have a primary or home language other than English. That number grows year by year.

Among the 5,000 students, about fifteen hundred speak only a limited amount of English--or no English at all. The other 3,500 range in language facility from about equal use of their two languages to virtually 100% English-speaking.

The 5,000 students include, in round numbers, 1100 whose primary language is one dialect or another of Chinese, 800 whose home language is Philipino (mostly Tagalog, Ilokano and Visayan), 365 Korean, 300 Vietnamese, 500 Spanish, 400 Japanese, and 200 Samoan. The remaining students have about forty different language backgrounds. In each language, they number from one student to several dozens.

Although some people think of the whole 5,000 as "foreign-born," a great many of them were born in Seattle, or in some other part of the United States. Whatever their origins or citizenship, all of them are enrolled in the Seattle Public Schools to be educated. The question is how to do it.

The approximately 3,500 students whose English ranges from adequate to excellent are, for the most part, enrolled in ordinary school programs. Some have academic problems and are getting remedial assistance; some need remedial programs and are not yet getting them; some are straight-A students;

most are about average.

All but a few of the other 1,500 are in special programs for students of limited English-speaking ability. At minimum, this means a period or so per day of special instruction in English as a Second Language (always abbreviated to ESL). The students who get only this minimal program fall into two categories--those whose native language is so rare in Seattle that no bilingual staff or tutors can be found to help them, and those speaking more common languages but who exist in such small groups in so many schools that we can't find enough bilingual staff to cover all the places.

For the "bigger" languages--Cantonese, Spanish, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Ilokano, Samoan, Korean, Mandarin, Japanese--bilingual teachers and para-professionals provide classroom instruction in schools where concentrations of students exist.

The bilingual instruction isn't exactly the same in all schools, but the different programs have two elements in common--subject matter taught in the native language, and ESL classes. Bilingual instructors use the native language to help students learn their basic subject matter because the students couldn't do it in English at this stage. The bilingual teacher may also teach ESL, but usually this is done by an ESL specialist whose native language is English.

Most bilingual instruction also includes cultural content specific to the ethnic group who constitute the nucleus of the program--festivals, music, dance, food, crafts, and so on. In many cases, students from other ehtnic groups take part in these cultural experiences, and, in some schools, they have the opportunity to learn a new language.

All together, there are now forty-three bilingual programs in twenty-eight schools. In these and other schools, there is also bilingual tutoring, done by hourly-paid people from the community. This activity is much more limited in scope and quality than the professionally-staffed programs. Tutors, to the extent that they are available, work with one or more students for two or three hours per day. Their main purpose is to help the students with their school subjects. Tutoring is done in about twenty languages. At present, about 100 tutors are working. There would be more if we could get them--with the right languages, and ready to work where they are needed.

In some schools, and for some languages, there are special counseling services available to students and parents. This is a branch of program

service that is growing and will continue to grow for several years.

Next year, nine new bilingual instruction centers will be established. The District will provide free transportation for students who are willing to transfer to a center. This looks like our most effective strategy for making bilingual instruction available to all, or nearly all, students who need it. As it is now, the students are found in almost every school in the District, mostly in extremely small groups. Even schools that have larger numbers of students in one or two language groups also have a small scattering of students who speak other languages. It seems an impossible task to put full-time staff, or even part-time tutors, in every location where they are needed.

Also, for next year, the activities of translation and interpretation will be greatly expanded. The District has a legal obligation, as well as a simple necessity, to communicate with parents and students in the languages best known by them.

One of the continuing limitations on the effectiveness of bilingual programs is imposed by the lack of teaching materials designed for such programs. Only in Spanish is there a significant stock of teaching materials for different subjects at different grade levels, and even in Spanish the supply is insufficient. Consequently, much of the bilingual teacher's time and energy is devoted to creating the necessary materials. If this problem is ever solved, the cost of bilingual schooling will be significantly reduced.

These facts summarize the immediate situation in Seattle's public schools, but how did we reach this point? What are the influences at work? Where are we headed?

Historically, Seattle has shared in the trends of thought and behavior that have been apparent throughout the country. First, there was the melting-pot concept, which ruled almost undisputed through most of our history, until well after World War II. The essence of this idea was in the perception of the USA as an English-speaking country. The duty of every immigrant--indeed, the duty of every inhabitant--was to conform to the Anglo-American standards of good citizenship. These standards included not only the use of the English language, but also the avoidance of any other language. It was acceptable to study French or Spanish as a foreign language, but the use of one's native Polish or Japanese in everyday activities was viewed with suspicion, disapproval, or contempt.

As late as the sixties, any special instruction for Seattle students who could not speak English was labeled "Citizenship classes" or "English for the Foreign-Born." This must have been a little bit disconcerting for those Chinese speakers who had been born on Beacon Hill, or those Spanish speakers who came from Yakima. But, for the most part, language minorities accepted the prevailing notion that to be a good American meant speaking English, and all that went with it.

The climate of thought began to change significantly during the fifties and sixties with the visible growth of ethnic pride. At first, this change involved mostly young people, and their political and social views were seen by their more conservative parents as quite radical and alarming.

Our first attempts at bilingual education in Seattle (years before the Supreme Court gave legal force to the idea) were met by mixed reactions from language-minority parents. Most of those who responded to our questionnaires were enthusiastic about having high-quality ESL instruction. They were pleased that the teachers recognized and honored their native cultures, but most rejected the suggestion that the native languages be used in the classroom by students and teachers.

Though most parents gradually changed their minds about this, the essential concerns of language-minority parents have not changed through the years. They are exactly the same as the concerns of English-speaking parents. Parents of what-ever language group want their children to learn as much as possible, to get good grades, to be accepted socially, to be prepared for college or well-paid employment after high school. They want success and happiness for their sons and daughters.

This perfectly normal desire has always been accompanied by some urges that were in conflict with each other, especially during the times when the melting-pot idea was the only acceptable one. Parents wanted to be good Americans, and yet they wanted their language and their customs to survive in their children. Even today, some parents believe that patriotism requires giving up the ancestral culture. The cultural tug-of-war often causes families to split apart. One effect of the new ideas and the new education is to make it easier for the generations to stay together--literally and philosophically.

In the established larger community, including both Anglo-Americans and some ethnic minorities, there are some strong reservations about

bilingual education, and a continuing affection for the melting pot. Differences of opinion about these matters lead to some division into factions within ethnic communities, especially divisions between old populations and new immigrants of the same cultural origins. A great many Anglo-Americans still believe that the first duty of language minorities is to learn English, and thus get on the road to becoming good Americans. They sharply question the propriety of spending extra money for special school programs. Some of the better-established ethnic minorities, b, now speaking only English, have roughly the same attitudes.

Frequently, someone from the latter group telephones my office to make an angry statement. The statement usually boils down to this: "I didn't speak English when I came here forty years ago; nobody did anything special for me; and see how well I turned out." Sometimes, the separation between the old and the new has other rationales. Sometimes the "old" resident feels that his hard-won American status is threatened by school programs that flaunt the old language and the old ways. Sometimes, there is the fear (occasionally justified) that the school program will lump the new immigrant the the Seattle-born child together without taking into account the real differences in their situations and needs.

The viewpoints of people in the educational establishment vary considerably, but they tend to coincide with the conservatism of the larger community. One added dimension to the educator's reservations about bilingual education is the frequently-expressed fear that time devoted to special programs will detract from the student's learning of the "basics." This fear persists, no matter how many times it is proven to be groundless. Still, at least in Seattle and a few other places, teachers and administrators have become dramatically more supportive of bilingual education in the last five years.

One part of the education establishment is a notable exception to the prevailing conservatism. Those educators in the areas of foreign language and linguistics are mostly strong supporters of bilingual programs. Foreign-language teachers favor traditional program models involving both the language-minority and English-dominant students. They see bilingual instruction as a vehicle for reciprocal teaching, a force for intercultural understanding. Linguists tend to be fascinated by the theories and technicalities of second-language acquisition, and

to see the bilingual classroom as a research lab.

Until recent times, government was a force in bilingual education only by virtue of its indifference to the whole question, or its prohibitions against teaching in any language but English. During the 1960's, the Federal and some state governments began to enact legislation promoting bilingual education. The legislation rested almost exclusively on the assumption that bilingualism is a disadvantage, or that it causes social and academic damage that must be remedied. Government programs are essentially remedial programs.

The Supreme Court both strengthened and confused the governmental role in bilingual education by its decision in the case of Lau vs. Nichols in 1974. The Court ruled that the San Francisco Unified School District violated the civil rights of Chinese-speaking students by requiring them to attend schools with a curriculum accessible only to speakers of English. The Court did not prescribe bilingual instruction--nor any other specific remedy--but said that the school district must give special help to the students so that they could effectively participate in the school program.

Thus, the Court placed a substantial legal foundation under the concept of "disadvantagedness" as it relates to students whose language is not English. At the same time, it narrowed the definition of the disadvantage, so that it became almost exclusively a matter of proficiency in English.

In effect, this means that both the Congress and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are committed to the support and enforcement of nothing beyond transitional programs, that is, programs that terminate as soon as the student can "effectively participate" in the English-language curriculum.

Generally speaking, federal and state funds granted for the support of bilingual programs are surrounded by guidelines intended to discourage any of the broader purposes of bilingual education. The money must be spent mostly or exclusively on students who are very limited in their command of English. These students must be present in large numbers before a grant can be considered. Lastly, program evaluations, to indicate success, must show that students are making progress toward remedying the "deficiencies" that made them eligible for the program.

In a 1976 Report to the Congress, the Comptroller General roundly criticized the Bilingual Education Office for many perceived failures--among them, a tendency toward the support of maintenance programs, that is, programs intended to maintain the first language and its culture.

I have very mixed emotions about governmental influence on the course of bilingual education. On the one hand, I must recognize with gratitude the fact that many thousands of students are benefitting from special programs that might never have existed without governmental intervention. I also recognize that the government does not prohibit programs that exceed the bare legal requirements.

On the other hand, the fact that government does not support such programs is in itself very damaging. We have seen in the past what governmental indifference can do. To say that local districts are free to exceed the requirements is to ignore the most basic facts of school finance. It is very expensive to meet even the minimal requirements of the law.

At present, the Seattle School District is going beyond the legal minimum, because we see grander purposes in bilingual education than mere remedying of deficiencies. We see positive values in fostering the preservation of our languages and cultures. We see positive values in the involvement of English-speaking students.

We may find it impossible to continue in this path when the State of Washington assumes full financial responsibility for public schooling. Depending on the final outcome of the debate now in progress in Olympia, we may find it exceedingly difficult to do even the minimal program required by federal law.

In any case, the American perception of bilingual education seems to me to be moving toward a closer and closer approximation of the definition given by the courts and by HEW. This is probably inevitable, but I'm sorry to see it happening.

When we come to the time when the transitional program and the remedial program are the sum and substance of bilingual education, then I think we will find that we have jumped back into the melting pot.

HOW THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TRIES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL EDUCATION

HORST M. RABURA

Because of the so-called economic miracle which took place during the 1950's, Germany has needed more and more workers for its industry. By 1973 there were officially about 3,000,000 foreign workers in Germany. Many had brought their families and stayed for a period of one to ten years. They came from all over Western Europe, but mainly from Turkey, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Portugal. This great number of foreign workers was completely new to the Germans and as such created new problems for their society. Socially these people were not accepted. However, the Germans needed them for their labor force.

Since the foreign workers are only temporarily in Germany, they have usually had little interest in being integrated or in adapting to German culture. Many of them have come to Germany because they were not able to make a living in their own countries. They came mainly to make money and thus to improve their standard of living at home. This represents a somewhat different situation from here in the United States where members of minority ethnic groups are here permanently. But it was somewhat different for the children. German law requires that all children living in Germany must attend a German public school. The great influx of foreign workers' children into Germany confronted German schools with totally new problems. There are presently over 350,000 foreign children of school age in Germany. This created utterly new problems for the German schools since they had previously had no experience in dealing with large numbers of foreign children. In some schools, e.g., in Berlin, 60 - 70% of the school population consisted of foreign children. The schools were not prepared to cope with this problem, mainly because no specific guidelines were in existence.

School authorities took three possible solutions for the education of these children into consideration.

1. Special classes for foreign children with all of the instruction being given in their native language (German was thus treated as a foreign language). This meant children remained isolated within their home culture.
2. Participation in regular German classes. The result would be total integration into the German culture with possible concomitant loss of their home culture.

3. A program which assured a bilingual and a bicultural education: Instruction in the mother tongue for the most important subject matter such as social studies, natural sciences, and instruction in German as a second language and participation in classes where the German language is not so important such as music, art, and sports.

At first great emphasis was placed upon the second kind of program which called for a total integration into the German school system. Soon this idea was dropped because children were not able to participate successfully in the classroom situation -- not only because of lack of proficiency in German but also because of their different educational backgrounds. The magnitude of this difference is shown by the fact that a fifth grade education in Turkey is approximately equivalent to a third grade education in Germany. And parents resented the total immersion of their children in German schools because they were afraid their children would become strangers to their own culture.

Finally in 1974/75 the idea of a bilingual and a bicultural program emerged. It was recognized that the children are during the time of their stay in Germany in a bilingual and bicultural situation. Both within and outside their families they were exposed to different languages and to different codes of values and behavior. Children are in constant conflict with the established codes of their home-culture and the codes of German culture. The adults learn to deal with these discrepancies much more easily than their children because they have their cultural codes already firmly established: and are not steadily exposed to conflicts as their children are in school. We found out that children tended to become bicultural as soon as they came to Germany and all the more so as soon as they attended a German school. They adapted to the codes of both cultures very rapidly. The question is whether this process is the result of formal education or a normal natural development. We found that either the home of the child or his attending a national school could inhibit this process. However, this depended greatly on the age level and to what extent a child had already emerged in the home culture. Now the question arises as to what extent this process can take place as a natural development and to what extent it can occur in a controlled educational program. The willingness to adapt to

the new culture is one of the most important factors. This willingness depends greatly on the length of the planned stay in Germany. This seems to me the most significant difference between the problem of bilingual and bicultural education in Germany as opposed to that of in the United States. However, there are similarities in the problems involved. In dealing with these problems we found that one can not become bicultural through learning about another culture in a classroom or through books. A culture has to be experienced -- a person has to live in the other culture; otherwise only minimal information will be assimilated, but an understanding of the other culture will not necessarily take place. The only thing a school can do is to try to preserve the cultural heritage. This applies mainly to children who have been born and educated in a different culture. We have seen a great difference in the cultural behavior of children of foreign workers who have been born in Germany and that of children who have come to Germany from their respective homelands. In spite of living with their families -- often in a ghetto situation -- the children who were born in Germany and lived all of their childhood in Germany were not much different from German children. Children who started in the first grade had practically no problem in adapting to German schools and in coping with the school work. Some had even more difficulties with the instruction in their native language.

It was also found that the difference in the educational backgrounds, as well as the social or family backgrounds and the attitudes toward learning played an important role in the progress of the individual child. Many children, in particular Turkish children, came from illiterate families or from little villages. They had sometimes a very limited vocabulary even in their own language. Tests revealed that one could not expect that the competence in a foreign language would exceed the competence in their own language.

The differences in the language systems, sounds, and structures were also disturbing factors. Little children had fewer problems in making the transition to German. In some instances we found that younger children who had learned German and had not been in their home country for a considerable length of time spoke their native language with a German accent.

Younger children felt at home in Germany sooner than older ones. The

older ones at first had a much greater desire to return home because of the sudden confrontation with German life and culture. In addition, many came from a low income class and an entirely different social stratum which made it even more difficult to gain access into German life and society. In this case youth groups and welfare organizations were of great help. They established recreational centers and clubs where foreign workers' children could meet children of other nationalities socially and receive help in their school work.

Special instruments for evaluation purposes had to be developed since tests for measuring German children's achievements were not suitable for this group. Special educational programs had to be established since the existing school structure did not make provision for the schooling of these children.

The most successful and satisfactory program is one in which the subject matter is taught in the different home languages and German is taught as a second language for about eight to fifteen hours per week. In this curriculum a child can transfer into a normal German class when he feels ready. In this way a gradual integration into the German class is assured.

This type of program not only required specially developed teaching materials but also a specially trained teacher who not only had to be qualified and trained to teach German as a second language but who also had to have an understanding of

a. the educational system of the different nationalities,
b. the ways and standards of living in the different countries,
c. the ways and standards of living of the foreign families in Germany,
d. the special features of the different languages which could have an influence on the learning of German,
e. the stage of education of the individual child when it arrived in Germany, and
f. the problems children are confronted with in Germany.

This brings me now to the work I did in Germany, i.e., the development of a language program and of materials for teaching German as a second language to children of other mother tongues. The following comments are based mainly on the situation in West Germany. However, I believe some of these recommendations can apply also to bilingual and bicultural programs

in the United States. Keeping all of the previously mentioned problems in mind, I came to the conclusion that these programs and materials must necessarily go beyond the scope of the traditional concept of foreign language teaching inasmuch as they must be adaptable in method and content to the needs and learning capability of the foreign child.

In other words, such language programs must take into account the ages as well as the psychological and the socio-cultural background of the foreign children while simultaneously preparing them -- through an abbreviated process -- for participation in the regular German educational system. Such a program must be designed to facilitate the foreign children's integration into German society and schools and at the same time permit the students to retain their own cultural heritage and language. It is obvious that experiences gained from past language programs which were developed under different conditions may be considered useful only in a very limited way.

In teaching German to foreign children it must be remembered that the language cannot be learned in the usual way because of a limited proficiency in the native tongue. The second language must assume responsibility for decisive processes of socialization as well as identity and personality development.

The aspired goal in the teaching of German to foreign children is not so much their progress in working grammar but rather in the experience of communicating. The children must be given the opportunity of gathering experience from their social situation and of confronting it. Language must be challenged by the reality of living and must daily prove itself. The language structure, vocabulary, and strategies of speech which arise from the environment in which these children live must be incorporated into such special programs of teaching German. Such a program must, therefore, achieve two goals:

1. to teach the children such language as they depend upon in order to live and assert themselves in German society;
2. to impart to them the vocabulary which will enable them to follow instruction in normal classroom teaching in the various subjects.

The content of the program must take into consideration the social as well as the more immediate collective needs of the children there. The content

must not present the children with an unblemished image of an intact society, but rather must evolve from within the child's environment. The subject matter must contribute to the solution of conflict situations which means that the text must also suggest definite ways of conduct. A linguistic basis must first be constructed before we can develop suitable linguistic topics and from there proceed in planned learning stages.

In the planning of German language courses for foreign children great care must be exercised. These language courses must be taught simultaneously with regular courses to avoid possible ghetto situations in schools which would impede the integration process into the school system and make acceptance of the foreign child by the German student body more difficult. The foreign children must be given the opportunity to participate in such German classes for which the knowledge of German is not essential such as music, physical education, shop, etc. This insures that the foreign child will become familiar with the German school system; in addition any exposure to German can only be beneficial to the actual learning of German.

Professor Hermann Müller of the University of Frankfurt/Main has remarked very correctly that the traditional concept of foreign language teaching cannot be simply superimposed on the teaching of German to the children of foreign workers. It is not sufficient to convey a language formally and systematically according to the latest pedagogical insights and skills. Rather, it is important to consider the children's relationship to the German language, their language ability, their interest in communication, their motivation, and their social situation.

It must further be remembered that in most cases the teacher has to work with classes who are multi-national and at various age levels, and that most of these children have little or no knowledge of German when they begin the courses. Even their levels of proficiency in their own native languages vary greatly with the educational system in their native countries and the social strata to which they belonged there.

The non-homogeneous nature of the classes of foreign children makes it imperative that the classes be conducted exclusively in German. This puts the emphasis on audio-visual media. In addition to the textbook and workbook with exercises, picture cards, transparent overlays, puppets, tapes, further such additional materials as reading books, language games

and movies for each unit have been produced. As far as I know this is the most complete media package at present available. The Federal Government of Germany has appropriated approximately three million DM for the development of these materials and the eleven State Ministries of Education are sharing the production costs which amount to approximately the same sum.

In conclusion I must say that the most important features of a successful bilingual and bicultural program are the teacher and the teaching materials. And of course the school authorities will have to take the necessary steps in order to implement such a program. They will have to provide for the following:

1. The introduction of special language classes for the preparation of successful participation in regular classes.
2. The continuation of instruction in the second language after the first integration into a normal class until the child has reached the necessary level of proficiency.
3. Separate classes for instruction in the mother tongue.
4. Development of special teaching materials and curriculum which will prepare the children for instruction in the second language and the life in the new society.
5. Special training programs for teachers of children of minorities and other ethnic groups.
6. Making extra help available for homework and tutorial work.
7. Development of special tests to determine the language proficiency level.
8. Opportunities for teaching small groups and for individualized instruction.
9. Language instruction according to age level and nationality.
10. Necessary changes in order to accommodate the needs of the foreign children.

Only if these essential steps are taken will we perhaps move toward a successful program in bilingual and bicultural education.

BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION

CONNIE M. SANCHEZ, Rapporteur[1]

Linguistics

Prof. H. Ondale (U. W. Faculty) - In reference to P. McRill's comments on how linguists see the bilingual classroom as a research lab, the position of linguists can be defended on the grounds that much research has shown that there is no ill effect of bilingualism in children; and further evidence shows that children who have been taught bilingually are much more effective than the monolingual. We must proceed to a third stage which would include the English population in the bilingual programs, so that all could have the opportunity to be engaged in bilingual learning.

Legislation

Connie Sanchez (U.W.) - Current federally funded bilingual programs allow up to five per cent enrollment of English speaking students.

Tutors

Prof. Joseph Voyles (U.W. Faculty) - Seattle Public Schools provide tutoring in some languages; what are the languages for which there are no tutors?

Dr. Paul McRill (Seattle Public Schools) - They range from Arabic to 40 or 50 others. In some cases we have one or two tutors that have one or two children speaking the same language at two different ends of town. The question is not how many people we have speaking those languages, but how many are interested in tutoring for not much money. Are they willing to do it at the time of day that it has to be done, and in the appropriate school? When you get all these variables sorted out, the answer turns out to be, no, it doesn't fit together. We've had a large turnover of tutors this year; out of 150 hired, only 100 remain, and perhaps by the end of the year another 50 will have come and gone because they find it unhandy or whatever. It's a question of matching time and place with the person with the language that can do what needs to be done.

Prof. Howard Nostrand (U.W. Faculty) - Could your pool of personnel be pooled with the Altrusa Society Language Bank?[2]

Voyles - What are the more obscure languages spoken in the district?

McRill - Swahili, Letish, Urundi, Chamorro tend to run in ones, and then others go to three or four speakers. Strangely enough that "magic" government number of 20 which takes significance is being met. We are now getting up to 25 or 30 languages that are near the threshold of 20 speakers in the district. There are beginning to be more European languages and languages other than Asian.

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1. Doctoral candidate in Educational Administration and Curriculum, University of Washington College of Education.
2. Names of representatives of the Language Bank were subsequently given to Dr. McRill.

Voyles - Are there any Albanian speaking children in the school district?

McRill - None listed, but there has been an influx of Arabic for which we have no takers for tutoring.

Nostrand - I wonder if we could spread the area served beyond Seattle using the University of Washington phones (because of low rates) to help for one half to one hour of tutoring daily.

McRill - The people hired to keep this in operation would have to be truly altruistic. They would end up with less than $12 per half day after mileage deductions.

Nostrand - Altrusa and the Community Advisory Board would like some advice on how we can better meet the language needs of the community and individuals through cooperation with the mass media, the Altrusa Language Bank, the private sector and the schools.

McRill - I would be grateful for any referrals to bolster tutoring.

German program

Louise Collins (U.W.) - In the program in Germany, what do they do to maintain a person's identity with his native tongue?

Prof. Horst Rabura (U.W. Faculty) - This is done through the content in the teaching materials which are taken from the situation in which the child is living, and goes back to family traditions. This is what made my job most difficult because I had to do a lot of research to find out about customs, eating habits, etc. (Shows book illustrating customs that children identified with the language they were learning.[3]) We tried to present only language that the child could identify with in German so as not to present a dream world.

McRill - In schools I visited in Berlin, I noticed Turkish-speaking teachers using the Turkish language in the classroom as the medium of instruction.

Rabura - Germany imported teachers from the different countries. However, they didn't know enough German to make the missing link so they had to get special training themselves through special programs that the schools are trying to establish, paid for by the government. You don't find German teachers speaking languages like Turkish and Greek. German children do not participate in any bilingual/bicultural education. The problem with creating national classes is that you create a ghetto within the school. I visited a school in Cologne where the school population is about 40% Turkish children. These children were all in one wing and the German children called it the "Turkish Wing". Likewise, the Turkish children called the German section the "Pork-eater Wing" because Turks are not allowed to eat pork, but Germans do. These are some of the things that go on as a result of separating them. Therefore, they must be brought together to get a better cultural understanding. The only attempt to do this is on a small scale through church groups, welfare-organization

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3. Sprich Mit Uns! Series 1-4 by Horst M. Rabura, published by Institut für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, 1975-76.

groups, and other private groups which establish meeting centers to bring Germans and children of other nationalities together.

Collins - Do you have adult-education classes in Germany?

Rabura - No, they are dealing just with the essentials-- survival language. Parents are not interested in anything else. The education of Turkish children exceeds that of their parents, which causes family problems. The father is the authoritarian figure, yet the daughter often has to act as interpreter for him, which is somewhat ironical and thus causes family problems.

Nostrand - Is the Volkschule an extension of the secondary school into adult education?

Rabura - It is similar to the community college here. It's a state institution which takes care of special programs such as language instruction. The Ministry of Labor has passed a bill to provide funds for the creation of language programs for adults. Industry also shares in providing these funds because industrialists want their working people to speak better because they get better work and thus get their money back.

Counseling

Nostrand - What is the counseling available to parents in the Seattle system?

McRill - One state-funded project is Proyecto Saber, staffed by five professionals and five tutors. They work with Chicanos between the child and the family making house calls, having parents in, working with children to work out any academic difficulties or other difficulties. There are similar things at other schools; for example, Paul Platu is a Samoan family counselor and teacher who spends much time in courts, jail and welfare offices helping families and children. Some of this is also happening at Franklin High School (Filipino, Chinese) and Beacon Hill Elementary (Chinese). Aid is also given to carry out parent conferences not otherwise carried out because of language barriers.

Bilingual centers

Collins - What is a bilingual center?

McRill - It's a created bilingual environment, used in a setting where there is not a great concentration of children to start with. Children are invited, and those who choose are provided with transportation. A child may be the only one from that culture in his school. The center gives that child a chance to interact with other children from his own culture as well as with children from the Anglo-American culture.

Collins - Where will the centers be located in Seattle? Will they be placed in several areas?

McRill - Yes, some started this year in Schmitz Park and go all the way to the North End. The work being done currently is mostly in Korean, although we may be doing some in Portuguese very shortly since we are now getting an influx of Portuguese, some of whom are new immigrants to the area.

Sanchez - Will the nine new bilingual resource centers offer a special curriculum such as the horizon, science and other "magnet" programs?

McRill - Some will be identified by the name of the language, Cantonese, Korean etc. We will have for the first time five multi-language centers where

you will not really be able to do a conventional bilingual program because we are inviting children from any language at all to come. They will get a little different kind of program from the bilingual programs with the name of a specific language. In the multi-language centers students will get better, fuller, and more professional treatment than they did in an isolated spot where they had to depend on a tutor. This will allow us to offer some advanced ESL courses for those who may be successful enough conversationally but who need more work in reading, etc. It will be a Mecca for some of the bilingual tutoring services. It will also give us a chance to reduce the odds between us. For example, if you have five Greek children in five schools, then you need five tutors. If you have all five of them in one school you only need one tutor. So that's the main strategy here. In the bilingual centers with the language name, there will be a whole range of activities: the subject matter learned through the Korean-speaking teacher or whatever, the cultural activities, interactions, ESL taught by a qualified specialist in ESL, and in the best of situations, I hope to produce some planned interaction with the students in the school. Incidentally, we don't get the "Turkish Wing" situation. Not only is it against the law, but it is bad practice always. Whatever the state of their English, at least for half the school day the children go to regular classes with mixed populations and are a part of and are acquainted with the school. In some classes students can participate quite well because language is not the big issue-- music, art.

Sanchez - You mentioned that five bilingual centers will be exclusively tagged by one language. What are these languages?

McRill - I may sound a little dumb having trouble answering that, but we have 43 bilingual programs in 28 schools now. A couple will be Chinese (Cantonese, Mandarin), one Korean, one Vietnamese.

Nostrand - Any Spanish?

McRill - No new ones in Spanish. Spanish is not one of our biggest languages and it doesn't grow that much. We may get a surprise this fall; maybe we'll get a rush is Spanish, I don't know. There are currently two elementary schools and one high school that have Spanish programs, as well as the traveling services of Proyecto Saber.

Frances Nostrand (U.W. Faculty) - Do you need more ESL specialists?

McRill - We may be hiring more this fall, at least ten.

F. Nostrand - I wonder if this would be a good field for students to get into?

McRill - Yes, I think it would be. Like other fields, it does not provide instant jobs, but there are opportunities.

Collins - Will some attempt be made to involve others in these centers?

McRill - Yes, to the extent possible. Tomorrow the Brighton children are putting on a pot lunch with entertainment (Tagalog and Illokano), and all are invited to participate. The Chinese sector at Beacon Hill also involves all.

Collins - What is the parents' reaction?

McRill - They react cautiously at first, and then enthusiastically very shortly after. Some parents wanted children to participate in the cultural events only and not the language learning, but many changed their minds later.

Collins - Why would parents want to deprive their children of this experience?

McRill - They don't see it as that, because of past experiences. Some used to get into trouble for speaking Chinese, etc. Some parents think it's a waste of time, may spoil the child's progress. I personally think it's very basic.

Materials

H. Nostrand - Is there an effort towards national pooling of materials to offset the lack of appropriate teaching materials?

McRill - Yes, but not fast or effective yet. Materials centers have been established throughout the U.S. by federal funds, but they are not yet satisfactory. Just as they get going, the funds are cut off. Much of what is being used here is produced by teachers locally and in San Francisco. The Chinese bilingual teachers here have to spend a lot of time writing their own materials.

Rabura - The advantage of the project I directed was that I was able to acquire funding based on the time needed for development and production of the entire materials which took a period of three years. Eleven states shared the costs.

McRill - This has been a big mistake here, because the government has never said to anyone, Here is a contract to do a set of arithmetic materials in Spanish for grades K-6. The government here says, Here's funds for a year; make curriculum materials.

H. Nostrand - You notice how we get the advantages and disadvantages of extreme decentralization compared with other countries. The nation can't do anything that the school doesn't want done for it, and the school can't do anything that the parents of the child don't want for it. Everything starts with us from the concrete individual unit and we don't realized how far we are from the mean between extremes unless we compare with other countries.

Prof. Pia Friedrich (U.W. Faculty) - Dr. Rabura, were you paid by the government?

Rabura - Yes, the cost of the whole program was six million marks-- equivalent to two and a half million dollars-- which included a whole media package for grades one through four and five through nine, consisting of six texts, with workbooks, six teacher manuals, etc. Thirty-two realistic and animated movies also made up the package.

ESL

Friedrich - What is the duration of the ESL program?

McRill - As long as necessary. Different children finish at different times. They graduate out after taking a test based on survival language. In elementary school, two years is a very long time to stay it; some children complete ESL training in three months. At the secondary level students stay dependent on ESL much longer-- sometimes all the way through high school.

Cultural codes

H. Nostrand - At what age is the conflict of cultural codes the most severe?

Rabura - With children it depends on how long they've been exposed to their own culture. There various factors interfere. To what extent does the child have exposure to German culture; does he remain in the Turkish ghetto and just come to school? There are a lot of factors concerned. I would say the age is between 10 and 12. The greatest problem is the reintegration of these children after they return to their homeland. Depending on the length of time in Germany, they have more or less become strangers to their own culture, even though they have never become completely German. When they come home, their friends have moved away. Schools are different in Turkey, compared to Germany where they are run more democratically. The Turkish language doesn't even have enough vocabulary to discuss democracy. It's a very limited vocabulary which is all geared to a dictatorship, militarism and authority, so you can't even translate.

Adapting to minority needs

H. Nostrand - My question is from Nat Gross[4] who is not here: We talk about adapting minority children so that they will do better with the hiring officer, but the question is: What should be done about the hiring officer? Shouldn't we be doing something from the other side to meet the persons from the minority culture?

McRill - True; the majority must do its part in the mutual adaptation.

Friedrich - Volunteer programs in some hospitals are pointing the way.

Note - For further reading on bilingual and bicultural education, one will find a selective list in the "Bilingualism and ESOL" (English for Speakers of Other Languages) and "Culture" sections of the ACTFL Annual Bibliography (New York: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages).

One may add the following references for an introduction into the subjective, the teacher-education, and the cultural-pluralism aspects, respectively, of biculturalism as an issue of contemporary society.

Cloutier, Cécile, "Les beautés et les laideurs du bilinguisme," Contemporary French Civilization I (3, Spring) 1977, pp. 419-421. (The beauties and ugly side of bilingualism, seen from Toronto.)

Denemark, George, "Chapter 6, an alternative report," pp. 211-217 in Teacher Education in the United States: The Responsibility Gap; A report by the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers (Paul A. Olson, Director). Lincoln and London: U. of Nebraska Press, 1976. In the same volume, pp. 219-224, see the extreme "Definition of Cultural Pluralism" drafted by the chairperson of the Commission's Cultural Pluralism Committee, Antonia Pantoya. Dr. Denemark urges that teachers for bilingual education need an objective, professional perspective upon the community, and that this is not assured solely by immersion in local ethnic group relations.

Nostrand, Howard Lee, "Cultural pluralism: What for? By what means? At what costs?" MALT (Montana Association of Language Teachers) Bulletin 21 (Fall) 1976, pp. 4-12.

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4. Mr. Gross, of the State Office of Fiscal Management and Budget, had attended the preceding discussions.

U R B A N P L A N N I N G

RICHARD L. LUDWIG, Associate Professor of Urban Planning at the U. of Washington, began as a geographer, earned a diploma in 1968 at the Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme in Paris, where he was a Fulbright Research Fellow, and in 1971 received the Ph.D. in public administration at the U. of Pittsburgh. He has served as regional administrator of the Bureau of Community Development for Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, Urban Renewal consultant in a private firm in Pennsylvania, member of the Executive Committee of an Allegheny County Housing Task Force, and project director of the Pittsburgh Renaissance Program at the U. of Pittsburgh. When the U. of Washington was invited to send a team of experts to visit the People's Republic of China in the winter of 1977, Profesor Ludwig was one of the twenty faculty members selected to take part. He is director of research for the College of Architecture and Urban Planning.

RICHARD L. LUDWIG

RICHARD DUANE SHINN

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FRENCH REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

RICHARD L. LUDWIG

Note: The discussion group at the session on planning was made up predominantly of professionals already well acquainted with the American scene. For contrast, Professor Ludwig presented the features of the French situation summarized here: the features which have enabled France to plan so well on a regional and even a national scale; to situate hospitals, airports, even whole new cities at the points where they can serve the greatest number with greatest efficiency. The chief of these enabling features is the centralization of government which, ironically, along with its attendant concentration of population and industry, creates the main problem to be solved. Despite the centralization of authority, however, the planning is "indicative planning"; it indicates goals, invites and facilitates cooperation, but dislikes coercion.

Two of the best books which develop this topic are written in English: Niles M. Hansen, French Regional Planning (Edinburgh University Press, 1968), and Ian B. Thompson, Modern France: A social and economic geography (London: Butterworths, 1970).

In the 1940's, France faced two main postwar problems of urban and regional development. a) For three-quarters of a century, from 1861 to 1936, the nation's entire growth had taken place in just two urban regions-- Paris and Marseille; and two-thirds of the growth had been in Paris. b) Industrialization was concentrated in the eastern half of the country. If a line were drawn from Le Havre to Marseille, 55% of the land area lay to the west of that line but only 37% of the population, 24% of the industrial jobs, and 12% of the enrollment in advanced technical and training schools.

1944 -- The Government began struggling immediately with the problem of interregional balance. An industrial decentralization mission was assigned the task of persuading war damaged industries in the Paris region to rebuild elsewhere. With no funds to subsidize the moves and no power to prohibit building in the Paris region, it could accomplish little.

1950 -- Claudius Petit, Minister of Reconstruction and Housing, proposed the concept of aménagement du territoire, with decentralization as its principal aim. The idea of planning the distribution of people and activity on a national scale was entirely new.

The plan envisioned the selection of a dozen cities that had the potential to become true provincial metropolises and act as magnets to draw growth away from the Paris region. In his concept, university education would provide the core of the cities.

Although the report was approved, the beginning was modest. The government established a loan fund to finance the development of well located and well equipped industrial parks and housing in the provinces. In 1953 a second fund, to finance the relocation from Paris of machinery plants was established.

1954-55 -- An economic recession struck France and hit hardest the traditional industries of textiles, leather, and ceramics which were already decentralized. Paris was less hard hit than the rest of the country, called "la province." The differences were accentuated and a new movement for decentralization was born. A systematic and coherent policy was begun and this regional policy became accepted as an integral part of the national economic development policy.

First of all, a policy of overall balanced growth was made explicit. Previously, firms had been moving from Paris but not very far away-- still in the Paris Basin.

Second, the government was given the power to implement the policy by decree, and a series of decrees was issued in 1954-55, which made use of these nine devices:

a) control of industrial construction in Paris - government approval for expansion by more than 10% by industries with 50 employees or more than 5500 square feet of work space

b) investment grants - Critical zones were set up, where 20% of capital construction costs could be met with government grants.

c) loans - direct loans at 3% below market rate for industries relocating outside the Paris region, with a moratorium on interest for the first three years. Industries borrowing on the private market for that purpose could receive an interest subsidy.

d) tax relief - For firms relocating to critical zones, the building transfer tax was reduced from 17% to 5% of the cost of the building.

e) manpower programs - assistance offered to decentralizing firms in retraining and rehousing workers; transportation and relocation allowances authorized for workers and families moving from Paris with firms

f) advance factories - assistance given to communities in critical areas to construct industrial parks on a speculative basis; authorization of special grants for up to 20% of new public facilities in critical zones

g) regional action programs - 90 departments were reorganized into 21 planning regions and regional economic development programs, identifying critical projects, were prepared. In 1957, a set of regional physical plans was called for to parallel the economic development plans.

h) regional development companies - Since capital was concentrated in the Paris region, regional development companies were formed and authorized to acquire equity in firms in the depressed regions. In 1956 they were authorized to make loans to these firms and underwrite the firms' long-term borrowing. To do this, they borrowed funds from the major public banks in Paris.

i) decentralization of government activities - Government agencies and state or nationally controlled industries were instructed to identify which of their operations could be decentralized from Paris and present time schedules for moving them. These activities constituted a third of the nation's investment.

Despite the fact that the decrees brought a certain amount of psychological shock to the French government, the results were limited for nearly a decade. The apparent barrier was the administrative, professional, and political resistance to specific moves.

In one very critical aspect, there was dramatic and quick achievement: construction and expansion of factories in the Paris region was limited drastically. By 1963 that region's share of the nation's new factory construction was reduced from 33% to 10%. Between 1960 and 1963 there was a net loss of factory space in the Paris region, and this trend has continued for the past decade.

The problem, however, was how to get them to distribute themselves over the countryside in a balanced manner. While some of the assistance was reserved for critical zones, most of the incentives were available to plants to move anywhere-- and regional development companies blanketed the country. Of the 200,000 jobs relocated by 1961, 109,000 relocated in the five regions abutting the Paris region. Moreover, any net loss in factory jobs was more than made up by new office jobs in Paris, on which there were no controls.

There was little success in decentralizing government activities, and deGaulle finally decreed the moving of higher education centers to the provinces in 1960-- mining and civil engineering to Lyon, aeronautics to Toulouse, public health to Rennes, telecommunications to Nantes, maritime engineering to Brest.

The Third Plan (1958-61) declared for the first time that balanced distribution over the country would be a major objective-- one that has been consistently carried through subsequent plans.

1962-66 -- Planners finally designed an elaborate system for regional planning and regional action. The plans called for in the earlier decrees had not been at all well done, but even if they had been there were no mechanisms in the

region to carry them out. The region was a new and artificial geographic concept, without tradition, government structure, or sense of community.

In 1959 the country had been divided into 22 (later 21) Regions, each with a Regional Prefect (the Prefect of the Region's main department), and all top officials were organized into a regional coordinating conference. All government agencies were ordered to reorganize in accordance with the new boundaries. The interdepartmental conferences were directed to update the economic development plans previously prepared by the planning teams in Paris (the first real decentralization move). They were directed to prepare regional investment programs for the Fourth Plan (1962-65) then in preparation.

1963 -- Establishment of DATAR (Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale) in Premier Pompidou's office. This "Agency for Land-Use Planning and Regional Action" was charged with the responsibility of bringing all the regional policy elements together for government decision and seeing that they were carried out by the appropriate government ministry. It was also given responsibility for carrying out some major regional development projects in the national development plan, such as tourism on the Mediterranean Coast.

By the time the Fifth Plan was being prepared, the Regional Prefects had consolidated their power and had been given clear responsibility for regional level stages of the process and the regionalization of development was operating as well as one could reasonably expect.

The basic concept of the Fourth Plan was a zoning of the country and the establishment of five different kinds of incentives on the basis of the zones. The zones, however, centered on growth centers, i.e. several major cities had been designated as one of five different "conversion zones." This was carried to the logical conclusion in the Fifth Plan (1966-70) where eight French cities were designated as "métropoles d'équilibre" (major cities for counterbalancing [viz., Paris]). Under the Fifth Plan top priority would be given to the needs of these growth centers, namely the need to have: a) city centers redeveloped; b) regional plans prepared; c) new housing expedited; d) airport requirements set; e) subways begun; f) government research decentralized; g) medical facilities expanded; h) transportation network improved; i) university education improved or begun; and j) cultural institutions improved.

Below these, at a second level, intermediate cities called "villes moyennes" were identified, to receive less specialized facilities and services.

At a bottom level of intended development were the rural service and trading centers.

Three major accomplishments have resulted:

a) Stemming the growth of Paris - By 1968 the net migration into Paris from the provinces was down from 50,000 per year to 10,000 (from 1962) and in 1972 it was confirmed that Paris was having a net outmigration. The population of Paris has been falling gradually but steadily since that time.

b) Strengthening the Métropoles d'Equilibre - All eight except Lille had growth rates exceeding that of Paris. Toulouse had grown twice as rapidly as Paris between 1962 and 1972, and Lyon and Marseille had together gained more people than Paris.

c) Balancing of the national growth - The ten regions lying to the west of the Marseille-Havre line gained 200,000 new jobs between 1962 and 1968, compared to a loss of 400,000 from 1958 to 1962. By 1976 this had reached nearly 700,000 new jobs. The rate of industrial growth in the western regions has been 2% per year throughout the first part of the 1970's, more than twice the national growth figure. Outmigration from Brittany has fallen by two-thirds since 1971.

In sum, a retreat from the growth centers has been achieved. Traditionally, France had been divided between "Paris et le Désert français;" by the mid-1970's, decentralization had reached a point where planners could be concerned over the possibility of a Bordeaux and its Aquitaine Desert, or Toulouse and its Garonne-region Desert. Already by 1972 officials had begun to emphasize the development of the "villes moyennes" and give them priority status previously reserved for "métropoles d'équilibre." Lyon, the largest of these métropoles, was even reclassified into the same zone (zone 5) as Paris for industrial incentives and tax benefits, and indemnities were made available for industries moving out of Lyon. The French were beginning to "fine tune" their regional economic development model.

Favoritism in the expenditure of infrastructure credits has been extended to the "villes moyennes." Subsidies can now be paid to tertiary-sector activities[1] relocating from Paris to any city (not just "métropoles" as previously) in zones 1 and 2. All of the previous list of needs attended to earlier just in the "métropoles d'équilibre" are now addressed in the secondary regional cities, and yet the scale of development (height, bulk, etc. of buildings, concentration of activities, etc.) is being carefully controlled.

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1. Activities serving the primary (agricultural and extracting) and secondary (industrial) sectors of the economy.

REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES

RICHARD DUANE SHINN

A dilemma

In the United States, we have a dilemma in regional planning. Although many see the value of regional plans, there is no general government responsible for regional planning. On the contrary: it is the persistent desire of urban populations to do plan-making at the local level, where they make the decisions concerning land development.

Only a few places have made notable efforts at preparing regional plans that transcend the fragments of local planning. The Joint Program in Minneapolis-St. Paul is one, and Atlanta is another. Washington D.C., with the Plan for the Year 2000, is a third. In the New York metropolitan area, we have seen two substantial efforts that took the form of private studies: one in the late 1930's and the other in the 1950's. The successor of those efforts is the Regional Plan Association and it is still private.

Federal government interest in regional planning

In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson mandated regional planning in a speech that called for plans to be prepared as a prerequisite for the receipt of federal monies by local government in metropolitan areas. The Local Planning Assistance Grants, Section 701 of the Housing Act, made monies available to prepare these plans. Interim Regional Development Plans were accepted as sufficient evidence of intent in the certification process.

The Office of Management and Budget established a review procedure in OMB Circular A-95. The review of requests for federal assistance by a local government is conducted by the regional planning agency to assure that the request is in accordance with the Regional Development Plan. This requirement brought about the formation of Councils of Government, "COG's", in most of the metropolitan regions of this country. The Puget Sound Governmental Conference, formed prior to these requirements under the joint power of local governmental units, served as a model for many others.

At first glance, it appears that the dilemma has vanished. Scrutiny will show, however, that the COG's have not been able to distinguish between the functional role of regional planning and the advisory role of serving government as a forum. At best, the requests have been processed by well-intentioned individuals and compared to the Interim Regional Development Plan. The lack of a Regional Development Plan, with a commitment by the COG, is the crux of the problem. If the Interim Regional Development Plan is indefi-

nite, no basis exists for judging whether a request of local government is in accord with it.

Do we want regional authorities with powers to make decisions for large developments?

Consider Karachi, Pakistan, as an example of authority insufficiently exercised. The Clifton area in Karachi is an extensive beach area. The Karachi Master Plan Authority, with considerable support from the United Nations for its regional planning, has the powers necessary to acquire and prepare the sites for builders, with all the infrastructure that human settlements require. Yet the landscape has been mutilated by the disruption of the soils for construction of streets and sewers. Scattered houses dot the landscape, which can however scarcely be seen through the blowing sands.

This scene causes one to reflect on the question, What is the best way to proceed? Perhaps the site should not have been developed at all. At least the development could have been concentrated and coordinated. The missing ingredient, that might have brought about the realization of the possibilities, is citizen participation.

Although we bemoan the inefficiencies of the public hearing on a zone-change case, and we chafe at the requirement of environmental-impact statements, it is clear that we want to scrutinize every proposed development so as to avoid a Clifton disaster. Thus, there is a caution to be raised with respect to regional authorities.

The consequences of local development decisions made without regional considerations

Consider Los Angeles as an example. There may be as many as ninety cities in Los Angeles County, and Orange County is a close rival. Many were incorporated for the purpose of planning and zoning. The cities of the Los Angeles basin are well planned on the local level.

In the 1930's, a "Broadacres" type of plan was prepared, a distant relative to the Frank Lloyd Wright conception of development for the auto age which was to come. Primary arterials were delineated on the section lines and secondary arterials intersected at the centers of sections. Commercial zoning was striped along the primaries and formed nodes at their intersections. Industrial zones followed the railroads and formed nodes at switching yards and petroleum tankyards. The rest was reserved for single-family residential areas. Agricultural zones were used until the pressures of development brought requests for single-family subdivisions within those zones.

Following World War II, these new subdivisions gave communities the

choice of incorporating as small cities to guide the completion of the task and to assure maintenance of neighborhood quality.

Auto manufacturers provided the cars that gave the neighborhoods access to jobs. The Federal Housing Administration provided the financing for the houses in the subdivisions. The Bureau of Public Roads provided the funds to build the freeways as an added means of access to jobs, an overlay on the gridiron of arterials.

The effort was large-scale, and it certainly related closely to the needs of the new residents. Yet its result, recognized at its inception by the comedian Arthur Godfrey, was the environmental consequence known nationwide by the household term, "smog". Nevertheless, the die was cast, and the effort was pursued to the end.

What are the elements of a regional development plan?

The first requirement of a regional development plan is that it distribute the locations of residential developments. Closely associated with this distribution pattern is the distribution of jobs. Employment centers are vital elements in a region and they require intensive support of an infrastructure.

This "infrastructure" consists of the highways and freeways, the utilities and community facilities responsive to the demands associated with the places where people reside or work. In this sense, retail centers which follow the purchasing power of the residents, also became part of the infrastructure.

Preservation of major open spaces, too, is a regional concern, basic to the planning of the environmental setting for development. Amenities associated with the environment urgently need attention, as was illustrated in the Clifton and Los Angeles examples.

Alternative institutions

First, the COG's, discussed earlier, need to be reconsidered before advancing further. Efficient as they are, they have seemingly been corrupted by the federal monies into ineffective reviewers of local proposals. They are not planning agencies, as can be seen from their budgets and the efforts expended. Nor are they functional agencies possessing charters for specific missions. They do not have the powers of local government, such as police power and eminent domain. Their only means of affecting the course of development are the forecasts they make and their capacity to persuade others to believe them.

Second, it is important that we give consideration to the prospects of state government entering the regional planning arena. The States have had

a role of review and advice, counterpart to the role of the COG's, as monies have flowed from the federal agencies to the local governments. The American Law Institute's Model Development Code and its proposals for national land-use legislation focused on the States as the missing link in regional planning. Some States, despite a plethora of environmental legislation, have not satisfied the basic need for planning addressed to the purpose of development control. At two levels of debate, the distinguishing differences have been ill defined. At the local level, a "State" issue as compared to a "local" issue has changed from discussion to discussion. At the federal level, while over fifty current public laws deal with land use, it appears to be assumed that the role of national legislation is simply the adoption of model legislation for the States. One can understand the confusion of State legislatures. Nonetheless, it seems that the regional planning vacuum could be filled satisfactorily by the States, given the will to act which some have.

Third, urban counties have often retreated from land-development issues as they became subjected to zoning, by incorporation or annexation into a city. The urban county has seemed content to solve the problems arising on the urban fringe and to wage its negotiations with the developers of raw land. There was a time when this role in itself was more than enough for the planners to deal with adequately. However, with the slowing of development, the problems of a county with a large city in its center, and the role the county must play in review of major infrastructure issues, bring this unit back to the fore as a viable alternative. Counties have the powers of general government, and their legislative bodies are elected. Few urban counties, it is true, have jurisdiction over whole metropolitan areas. This restraint limits zoning, but there is no reason why it should limit all policy planning.

Fourth, the multi-purpose district has emerged as a form of government. It is in essence more than one special-purpose district. Boundaries and statutory limitations can be a problem for these agencies as they consider planning for more than the specific missions mandated to them.

In the King County and Seattle area of Washington, we have seen proposals of a merger between the urban county and the multi-purpose district as a prospect for bringing together the functional plan-making and the general plan-making in King County. Both the Metropolitan Municipal Corporation of Seattle and King County have exemplary records in their respective functions. "METRO" has cleaned up Lake Washington and improved bus service, as results respec-

tively of its sewage and mass transit responsibilities. King County adopted an exemplary policy plan in 1965 and followed with the hearing-examiner form of zoning administration. Whether the virtues of both would be lost in a merger will not soon be seen, since the merger has failed to gain acceptance.

Is the pressure off anyway?

Will there continue to be growth that demands regional planning? Is it requisite to planning that there be growth? In Washington State, the population growth was a low 1.9% from 1970-1976. In central cities growth is not expected. New starts in housing are low.

The elements of a regional development plan listed above suggest that growth is not requisite to planning. The issues of population and job distribution, too, require planning. The infrastructure is cast as the "growth-shaper", and quite rightly. But there are also other forces at play.

Will energy be a "growth-shaper"?

Energy shortages may have profound effects on the infrastructure by limiting travel. Future changes in mode of travel to mass transit are widely assumed, and may happen. Job locations, and travel for shopping, may consequently alter the development policies.

Conclusion

The regional planning dilemma is still with us, and it seems most plausible that the urban county will emerge with a larger role. To make this option succeed, close coordination with the functional agencies will be required; which may mean the merger of general and functional governmental bodies. Responsibility for the planning of the whole territory is necessary. But more than this is needed: the will to plan; the courage to recognize that a Trident submarine base affects us, and the determination to control the development it generates.

REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE LIGHT OF FRENCH EXPERIENCE

PHILIP WALKER, Rapporteur[1]

The discussion revolves around the issue of whether we in Seattle should try to gain the advantages of planning on a regional scale. France, by reason of its centralized government, so different from our American political power structure, has been able to demonstrate the possibilities of regional planning.

Richard Ludwig, Associate Professor of Urban Planning at the University of Washington presented a short survey of French experience in regional planning.

Duane Shinn, Associate Professor of Urban Planning, dealt with the present possibilities for regional planning in the Seattle area.

Elements of Discussion on Regional Planning

1) Is French planning policy applicable within the United States?
2) When is planning necessary?
   a) At what level is it best to undertake planning? (ie. local, regional, national)
   b) Does planning on a regional basis have a role in underdeveloped countries?
3) Is a political commitment to planning present in America?

Is French policy applicable within the United States?

Johannes Kurz (Planning Consultant) - Could you make a comment as to how the French governmental structure makes regional planning successful?

Richard Ludwig - Let me say that in some areas the French have been successful and in other areas less so. If we take the French example we can see the opposition in formation of two ways to go about regional planning: the first, is the development of the region within itself; the second, is the development of the nation through regionalism. The example of France tends more toward the second. I used to think that authority was important, but, in the case of France's implementation of its program the carrot (incentives) has been more important than the stick (regulation). There is little that the French government has done, if you look at the nine measures I've discussed, that the federal government could not or has not at one time or another tried to do. The U.S. could stimulate lagging regions such as they have done with Appalachia.

Kurz - The trouble is that regional planning agencies in the U.S. do not have the power to implement (A 95, the only possible means they had, has been watered down because of review by elected officials). These councils have generally ignored to concentrate on things of real regional consequence, because they are controlled by people with local interests. Area wide planning is lost in the struggle with local planning. Long

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range planning is lost in favor of short term planning. Everything is done piecemeal.

Duane Shinn - Planning agencies are simply not independent enough from the federal dollar and the activities of the particular agencies that channel it. As time goes on planning agencies themselves are becoming simply a channel for monies coming from Washington, D.C. Under this influence they often do the least necessary to make federal money flow. When money becomes available in the Northwest, regional planning agencies have to look for a way of dividing the money into three equal parts (for Washington, Oregon and Idaho) following the government's wish for equal distribution.

Bob Corwin (Planning Consultant) - How does community political involvement compare between France and the U.S.? Perhaps there isn't the grass roots involvement in France that you find here.

François Martin and Howard Nostrand (University of Washington, Romance Languages) - There has been considerable grass roots democracy developed in France particularly on the issue of nuclear energy.

Ludwig - The Préfet is still a rather formidable figure and when he speaks people may have a tendancy to defer. Seriously, actually France has the most effective public participation. Suggestion for development comes from the local community itself and therefore acceptance is greater in France than here where it has usually been felt that planning should be handed down by the regional level to the local community.

When is planning necessary?

Martin - I am puzzled that, in the French example, certain industries seem to be designated for particular areas following tendencies that already exist. To me this denotes a certain spontaneity and does not constitute creative planning.

Ludwig - If you define creativity like that, yes, it's true. Bordeaux has a chemical industry because the necessary resources are nearby. Toulouse has historically been an aerospace center. Geographic considerations such as transportation costs do have to be calculated before decisions are made. These kinds of decisions are always made in conjunction with the companies involved. But many of the early French plans which designated certain industrial development for certain regions were simply a matter of conjecture. It turns out that some of the development expected did not happen where it had been designated.

Shinn - Even behind the very visible hand of the Shah of Iran one can find the reason for his designating that sugar beets be grown where he designates they be grown. (But I think no one in the United States would be so daring as he.)

Ludwig - The concept of de-centralization in France, though, really is an example of creative planning.

Martin - Do regions really have their functions designated?

Ludwig - Yes, but there is always a reason behind that designation. For example,

Dunkerque has become a major port to handle the steel produced in nearby Lille.

Harry Reinert (Edmonds Schools) - I'm disturbed by the comments that seem to prevail tonight. There seems to be an assumption we need more planning. (I can see some cases like highways and dams.) But what you've said about France sounds like 1984, taking people arbitrarily and sending them off to another place at the whim of government. I think we already have government agencies telling us what to do too often. You seem to imply that we are falling by the wayside if there is no planning or growth.

Shinn - I think that this is not entirely true. The kind of regulation that you complain about and planning are not the same thing.

Ludwig - In France I have said they prefer the carrot to the stick. It is not a matter of forcing people, the French want to make the regions attractive enough that people will want to stay there or establish themselves there instead of in Paris. The magnet concept is the essence of the French program.

Kurz - To answer Mr. Reinert's comment I'd like to say that what planners want is not more planning but more effective planning.

Anna Thacker (Engineering) - In the Puget Sound Council have they ever actually envisioned, is there ever an effort to envision the future?

Shinn - Generally that is not the way it works but some plans have been made (transportation is one area that was studied but the result was to let it go where it wants to go). The open space plan is an example.

Kurz - None of the original plans of the Puget Sound Regional Council were adopted, however. Instead you have interim regional plans. Certain significant things were brought to the surface in planning Green River Valley. Transportation was studied but there isn't much that can be done because transportation planning is in the hands of the federal government through federal highway funding.

Nostrand - In the region, where have we been the most unsuccessful?

Shinn - Green River Valley is a place that has been brought up. With development in that area, a potential air-pollution disaster has been created, because of its special geography and weather conditions. Planning should have foreseen this.

Nostrand - Are there planning problems that can't be solved correctively? For which it is too late?

Shinn - Some corrective planning has been done in the Los Angeles area but you run into the problem of forecasting what will happen in the late 70's and 80's. For example, a few years back nobody thought that Los Angeles would have a net out-migration in the 70's, but this is the case. Some problems have a way of solving themselves. If things get too bad where they are people have a tendancy to move. Perhaps this is why the American people seem to have a detachment towards planning?

At what level is it best to undertake planning?
(ie. local, regional, national)

Shinn - I ask the question, Do we want central regional planning? I can't

really give the answer but I want to emphasize the need for some form of local feed-back. What about local development without regional planning? Los Angeles is a prime example of the kind of Balkanization of planning that you get. Locally in the Northwest we have the option of state planning. We find this in land use legislation and in environmental acts. Most important here has been the potential of urban county planning. Too often as in King County this has only been applied to the unincorporated areas. The Metropolitan-Municipal Corporation Act has the potential to go beyond this.

Russell Wing (Planning) - Isn't it becoming more and more important to have planning at a national level? with communications systems, growth and transportation etc. what they have become?

Shinn - We are getting there. The question is how much can we stand? With energy for example, the choice of pipeline routes should be sorted out with the large number of local and regional groups to be affected. However because this is a national concern Congress may just legislate it (it is easier for them). For planning nationally, however, this country is much larger and more dependent on the private sector than France is. Things are more likely to be handled effectively at local and regional levels. On the other hand we are getting a lot of central planning through the back door from government. We can use transportation as an important example. Actually, the federal government through the interstate highway system is doing or at least determining a large part of transportation planning for the cities. Metropolitan Regions have not had the will to stand up against the government even when the highway plan seems detrimental to the planning needs of the region. A lot of functional agencies, like the public utilities, are doing planning and don't want to admit it.

Ludwig - There seems to me to be a danger in the view that planning should be national now. Traditionally democratic countries like our own tend to solve problems at the crisis stage, not before. If we go into comprehensive national planning problems will be set aside until they reach the level of a national crisis.

Nostrand - Is a crisis as visible locally as it is nationally?

Ludwig - Evidence of crisis is differentially felt at the two levels, but often the region feels a crisis before the nation for this very reason.

Does planning on a regional basis have a role in underdeveloped countries?

Kurz - In the late 30's the French and the Germans attacked problems that the underdeveloped countries are meeting today.

Ludwig - Yes, but the well developed urbanization that already exists in a country like France allows them to de-centralize from the capital to the existing urban structure of the regions. Underdeveloped countries can't do this as the urban structure is non-existant.

Shinn - In advanced societies which are information rich it is very difficult to make decisions because of the many conflicting points of view. In

underdeveloped countries the population is not well informed. This makes it easier to decide over their heads.

Is a political commitment to planning present in America?

Corwin - I would be interested in comments whether you think the American government is capable of this type of program that the French have. I am skeptical of the national will. The political always dominates. Planning concepts become diffused and the thrust lost. Do you see hope in the future for a change?

Ludwig - It is impossible to see into the future. Certainly the commitment has not been there. I don't see any commitment coming now either.

Shinn - As I have said there is a certain detachment in America from planning because of our great mobility.

Carolyn Meredith (Mercer Island) - Maybe there is some hope from such events as the White House Conference on Balance and National Growth to be held in the state of Washington.

Corwin - The country seems to resist planning but I see some hope in the planning that we are getting through the back door. The crisis in resources is awakening some of the people. An example can be found in the energy crisis. To solve it energy agencies are obliged to deal with land use. Also with our drought and present water problem there is some regional planning being done about watershed and water use. What we need more of is public discussion and this we are starting to get.

Conclusion

The very fruitful discussion has shed considerable light on the potential of regional planning in America and has shown that the French experience can be exploited in America. Structurally the two countries may be very different but it has been illustrated that the French have depended upon primarily the same types of incentives that American government can and does use. The consensus seems to be that the major block to regional planning in the States is the lack of will from the people and lack of commitment in the government. Hope and pessimism were both expressed for the future change in the American will. Public discussion and local feedback seemed to be a major concern to all participants regardless of the level at which planning is to take place. The French model serves well to show that planning can be more successful when local participation is sufficient.

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HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

HARRY REINERT

HARRY REINERT specialized, as a student, in Greek, Latin and German. He earned the M.A. in philosophy at Emory U. in philosophy and logic. He teaches German at Edmonds High School, where he has also taught philosophy and logic, and has served both as chairman of the Foreign Language Department and as Foreign Language Consultant to the School District. He has also taught Latin, German and English in three community colleges. He has meanwhile been a consultant to the city school systems of Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia. In 1972 he taught in a U. of Washington Institute on Individualizing Foreign-Language Instruction, and in 1974 he conducted a workshop at the U. of Colorado. He is the author of textbooks, articles, and a "Learning-Style Identification Exercise" based on Kant's view that each mind approaches "reality" with a-priori preconceptions: a diagnostic device used in schools and universities, including the Air Force Academy.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

HARRY REINERT

Summary of the Series

Under the general heading "American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience," four discussions were held on separate Thursday evenings over a period of two months. Two of the discussions were concerned with day-care education, one with bilingual/bicultural education, and one with urban-regional planning.

For the discussion of day care education, Martha Darling identified four "national models:"

1. "French" or "Latin-European" model of crèche and kindergarten;
2. the comprehensive integrated nursery system, or "Scandinavian" model;
3. the highly centralized crèche/kindergarten or "Socialist" model; and
4. the decentralized and fragmented "Anglo-Saxon" model.

In each of the first three systems some degree of governmental influence along with some degree of centralized control is found: either in establishing standards, in funding, in curriculum development, or in various combinations of these factors. Just the opposite is the case in the "Anglo-Saxon" or American model, for governmental support is at best periodic and may be (and has been) withdrawn at any moment. Margaret Sanstad emphasized the need for a continuing and national day care program, for "day care and the future of the family are closely linked."

At the session devoted to bilingual/bicultural education, Horst Rabura described the efforts made by West Germany in recent years to handle the educational needs of the millions of foreign children whose parents were temporarily in Germany to work. Because of the multiplicity of cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the children, the problem of helping these children assimilate to the German culture was extremely complex. Several approaches were tried, but experience showed that greatest success was achieved with a multifaceted approach in which as much was done as possible to maintain the child's home culture and at the same time provide him with the skills necessary for him to cope with the culture in which he was currently living. This is much the same approach currently being used in the Seattle schools, according to Paul McRill. Seattle is employing a number of techniques to meet the needs of non-English-Speaking children. Whenever possible, tutors who are native speakers of the child's native tongue

are brought in to help the child make the transition to the English language and American culture. In the isolated cases, i.e. where only one or two children in the school system are speakers of a given language, special programs have been established in the general area of teaching English without recourse to the native tongue.

Richard Ludwig in the final session of the series described the steps taken by the French government after World War II in order to encourage dispersion of the population throughout the country rather than having Paris as the sole focal point for the French governmental, industrial, and cultural life. Through a series of reassignments of governmental agencies along with incentive programs for industries and individual citizens, France has been successful in decentralizing. Richard Shinn, discussing the problems of urban planning in the United States, noted that nothing like the French program would be possible here, because 1) there is no national goal either within government nor among the people regarding the direction of future development, and 2) the various layers of governmental bureaucracy--federal, state, local--are barely able to articulate their efforts on even the simplest projects.

Audience Reaction

Although the audiences at the four sessions were limited in number--ranging from around twenty to forty--the evaluation forms which they returned following each session indicated a highly positive reaction to the presentations. Especially with respect to the presentations on day care and bilingual/bilcultural education, the evaluation sheets indicate that members of the audience uniformly agreed that the presentations were well done, the topics were important, and that the foreign experience had shed light on the issues. The responses to the session on urban planning were not so clearly favorable on these points. Sheets from all four sessions indicated mixed reactions from members of the audience with respect to the degree of discussion between persons of American and foreign backgrounds, and--except for the bilingual/bicultural session--members questioned the degree to which a significant exchange of ideas had taken place between scholars and persons in other walks of life.

Project Goals: Discussion

In viewing the goals of the project as outlined in the original proposal,

one notes that a significant change was made in the thrust of the sessions. As originally stated, the series was to focus on "American Civic Issues in the Light of French Experience," but as the series was finally developed, the whole of European experience was used rather than French alone. (Even in the original proposal, the proposed topics were not limited to French experience, for Rabura's presentation on German schools was already scheduled.) The number of topics originally scheduled was also much more far-reaching than the three which were finally chosen. The scope of the original project was scaled down because the budgetary request of the project was funded only in part.

The more limited scope may well have been fortunate for the program as a whole, however. The first three sessions in particular had a thematic element running through them that was both enlightening and important to anyone interested in current problems in the United States, i.e. education and training of the young in order to meet the cultural objectives of a people. In the Rockefeller Foundation publication RF Illustrated for December 1976, John Maier notes that American children are ill cared for in many respects.

> This catalog of factors (adversely) affecting the wellbeing of children refutes the commonly held myth that America is a child-oriented, indeed a child-dominated society. As Keniston points out, as individuals we profess to be solicitous of child welfare, while in practice as a nation we tolerate a great deal of unnecessary wretchedness in or among children--perhaps because they have no voice, no spokesman, no economic value, are essentially powerless.

This attitude stands in startling contrast to Martha Darling's description of the provisions for the care of children which are found in most European countries. As Margaret Sanstad pointed out, provision for child care in the United States has generally been for the purpose of meeting an emergency situation (as during World War II, when many mothers were involved in armaments production) or has been associated with a form of welfare. Both of these speakers emphasized that the concern today for equal rights for women, including women as workers, demands that provision be made for the care of young children. We might note, as a further evidence of the national attitude, that only during the past decade has an income tax deduction been allowed for the cost of child care, and even then only under certain restrictions. All this is in marked contrast to the European systems, in which the government--and apparently the people, as well--see

in their children the future of their culture and are therefore more deeply involved in providing adequate care even during the early years.

Also implicit in the descriptions of the European day care systems, however, was the notion that the governments saw those systems as a way of indoctrinating the children from the very earliest years in the ideals of the culture, which may be only another way of saying that this is a means of preparing the young to become citizens within the society. Whether it be the French system intent on preparing four- and five-year-olds to do better academically or the Soviets teaching the young to admire socialist idealism, the purpose is essentially the same. To this extent, one might then conclude that perhaps the decentralized, fragmented American system serves the same purpose for the young, since in large part Americans still seem to embrace a fundamental individualism, whatever the cost and whatever the problems.

Education at a slightly higher level was the focal point of the session featuring Horst Rabura and Paul McRill. Here again, however, one notes a marked contrast between the American and the European, as illustrated here by the German attitude. The Germans, flooded with immigrants from a variety of foreign cultures, felt the need to provide the young with the means to cope with their strange environment. By contrast, bilingual/bicultural education has come into the limelight in this country, the self-proclaimed "land of immigrants," only during the past four or five years. There have been isolated instances of concern in earlier times, e.g. teaching standard English as a foreign language to ghetto blacks or in the swamplands of Louisiana, but the prevailing view has generally been that competence in English was mandatory for participatory citizenship. Even today, the Washington State Legislature has not made a firm commitment to provide funding for such programs as Paul McRill described in Seattle. Needless to say, students in small districts within the state have even less chance to receive the kind of instruction which they need. Such a position stands in sharp contrast to that taken years ago by the West German government.

The thematic element which was apparent in the first three sessions, i.e. the concern for and care of children, was not evident in the final session, although it perhaps should have been. David Brewster in The Weekly for February 23-March 1, 1977, in his critique of a report from the Seattle Office of Policy Planning, wrote that "children seem to me as essential to a

healthy city as its water supply. Kids socialize a block, making friendships in advance of their parents. A child's need for safe streets, neighborhood candy shops, woods to explore, buses, parks--the whole public landscape--forces parents out of the enclave mentality that eventually takes over in child-deprived cities like San Francisco." Apart from reporting that efforts were made to bolster universities in cities other than Paris, the report on the French model of urban-regional planning also left untouched the whole area of providing for children in the new communities.

Of the four sessions, this final session apparently came closest to meeting the intent of the original proposal, for it indeed presented a detailed account of steps taken in France for urban planning and involved an analysis of such planning in reference to the United States. Several persons in the audience were obviously also deeply interested in this field and there was a good exchange between members of the audience and the speakers. Nevertheless, the audience evaluation sheets--although certainly not negative--were not generally as overwhelmingly enthusiastic as those for the earlier sessions. This also leads one to suspect that the change in emphasis for the sessions may have been fortunate.

General Conclusions

In viewing the overall results of all four sessions, one point seemed to come forth repeatedly--the United States and its citizens are indeed unique. Referring to the title once again, "American Civic Issues in the Light of European Experience," the European experience most effectively highlighted the contrast between Americans and Europeans. One frequently hears expressions of fear in this country lest the individual is being swallowed up in a mass society. The common factor which appeared in each issue presented in this program was that Americans are distinguished from the Europeans by a peculiar independence of spirit. This manifests itself as a suspicion of any and all governmental control and a deep rooted belief in the individual's capacity to handle any problem. Thus, Americans have uniformly rejected any and all attempts to establish national, or even regional, standards for child care or basic education, and governmental agencies have difficulty coordinating even such projects as interstate highways.

In this respect, then, the series can be said to have achieved its

goal magnificently, for the descriptions of the European response to certain civic issues did indeed also cast a bold light on the American response as well. Whether the American response should be modified as a result of this insight was quite properly not within the scope or intent of this series, and indeed such discussions could well be an entire separate program.

The series may also be counted as quite successful in providing an opportunity for the presentation of such information for those citizens interested in receiving it. A few members of the audience at various sessions wrote comments to the effect that some way should be found to attract a larger audience. The program organizers certainly seem to have done everything possible to get announcements of the individual sessions widely broadcast within the community. One might conclude that the same sense of individualism and self-satisfaction which was shown within the series to be so typical of the American also worked against any large turnout for such discussions. For example, the Seattle School Board last year invited--nay, encouraged, cajoled, and pleaded with parents and other interested citizens in the city to attend special meetings held in each local school in order to have citizens participate in the setting of goals for the district. At Fairview Elementary--which had been scheduled for closure (to the dismay of the affected parents) and was kept open only because of an eleventh-hour court ruling--no more than seven persons attended the meeting. These seven included the school principal, one teacher, the PTA president, one set of parents of a pupil from the school, one parent of another pupil, and one interested citizen who had no children in school. If on a matter as volatile and immediate as this, so few of the persons directly affected were willing to participate in discussions to set future goals, one could not expect an enormous attendance at a series of lecture-discussions which were certainly lacking in anything approaching that immediacy.

The important factor in evaluating the attendance at this series of presentations is not so much the sheer numbers as the interest of those who attended and participated. A quick check of the rosters with the names of audience participants indicates that there was a sizeable turnover, i.e. very few individuals attended all four sessions, or even three of them. We may conclude that those who did attend did so from a

genuine interest in the particular topic for a given evening. In offering the opportunity for these individuals to meet and discuss these issues, the program did indeed provide a valuable community service, all the more because such opportunities are exceedingly rare within our society. And the generally favorable responses given by those attending the sessions indicate that these persons appreciated this opportunity.

Recommendations

With a view to any future programs of this sort, experience gained from this series might provide the basis for a few recommendations. First, it would seem wise to select a topic of fairly limited scope but with a broad base of input. As noted before, this was in fact what occurred in the first three sessions, in which the general theme of rearing the young was viewed in perspective of several European models. And these seem to have been the most successful meetings. The final session, which was limited both in scope and base, was necessarily of interest primarily to a very small segment of the total community.

Secondly, to promote better attendance from the public at large, care should be taken to choose topics that are currently of moment within the local community. As noted earlier, day care is receiving increased attention now because of the women's rights movement, and bilingual education has come into the spotlight because of increased pressure from minority groups and court actions. Urban planning may be just as critical in the long run as the other two topics, but in the popular mind this is primarily a subject for discussion by professional planners and politicians. Thus, unless someone is suggesting building a garbag dump in the next block, one cannot expect the same level of audience participation at such a session as with the issues which are currently more within the public's awareness.

The third recommendation is related to the first, i.e. utilizing a broad base of input should also lead the organizers to seek a broad base of support and sponsorship within the community. As originally conceived, this series was primarily of interest to Francophiles, and we note several local French cultural organizations among the sponsors. Had the intent originally been to speak to the question of European experience generally, it should have been possible to get additional support from other local

organizations, i.e. the various cultural groups representing the Germans and Scandinavians, a broader range of foreign-language teachers and bilingual teachers, and others.

Finally, care should be taken to insure that the discussion goals of the program are met. It was noted earlier that the audiences generally did not find much significant exchange of ideas between scholars representing different cultural viewpoints nor did members of the audience always feel that much significant discussion had taken place between those making the presentations and the members of the audience. Some of the techniques for achieving better discussion were included within the original proposal, but they were not always followed.

The organizers and sponsors of this series should be encouraged to continue what they have begun. The concept is sound, the topics were indeed vital, and the service to the community invaluable. One might even hope that increasing numbers of sessions like these would slowly attract increasingly larger numbers of individual citizens and as a result make them more thoughtful and aware of their own culture.

THE END IS A BEGINNING

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

The series thus brought to a close is to be followed by similar discussions at Seattle, during 1977-78, on four topics: national health care; a cooperative approach to local language needs; integration of the elderly into community life; and youth hostels.

In the hope that other communities likewise may utilize the practical lessons, if not also the substance, of the experimental series, the present report will be distributed, reviewed, and made available nationally as well as locally.

The reason for undertaking such discussions is the public indifference to certain long-range issues, and the basic difficulty encountered is that same indifference, which limits not only the immediate audience but the practicability, for the media, of relaying the ideas that emerge.

The new series at Seattle has selected topics as timely as possible, using national opinion polls. But even so, the philosophical approach of the humanities will not produce the timeliest event in town. A public hearing on proposed day-care legislation attracted more persons from a single threatened neighborhood than our long-range discussion could muster from a population of 600,000. A one-time chance to hear a famous visitor, or a spokesperson of an ideology, enjoys a timeliness that similarly eclipses the conscientious concern for civic issues.

The new series seeks to involve the public not only through the choice of issues but by two other means: a different format, sacrificing the thorough expositions in favor of a panel discussion with differing views; and a different site, in a more academic neighborhood instead of on the edge of the central city, to which clings a reputation, now undeserved, as a "high crime area."

The basic difficulty, however, remains: the discrepancy between the timely event and the relative timelessness of the persistent needs and enduring possibilities of overcoming our mediocre provision for them.

We are doubtless right to be disenchanted with formal mass education, and to rely more and more on the educative power of the mass media. But if the media must, by the nature of their support, exploit the timely,

the humanities face that apparently inevitable discrepancy.

Our culture at its best is characterized by civic concern and by interest in other peoples; our culture at its most usual is comparatively indifferent, comparatively mediocre. Perhaps the present experimental approach will help to create a solution for this basic problem of the humanities in our time. At the least, it has impelled some of the most equalitarian-minded among us to inquire afresh what we mean by American culture, in view of the contrast between the culture at its best, as the humanities would have it, and the culture defined statistically, as predominant collective behavior.

The director and moderator of the series expresses his gratitude to his colleagues in the French Civilization Group, particularly Professors Abraham Keller and David Pinkney, and to the Community Advisory Board, of which the members especially active in this project were Betty Backus, Keith Crosbie, Louise Hirasawa, Margarita Kjerbol, Marie-Pierre Koban, Edith McAnulty, the Rev. George Morris, and Louis O. Stewart.

The entire Board cordially acknowledges the cooperation of the eleven co-sponsoring organizations and the diligent assistance of the Seattle Project staff, Pearl McElheran and Antoinette Wills, throughout the first series and in the developing of the second.

Finally, the Board is joined by the eleven co-sponsors, all of whom are continuing, in thanking the Washington Commission for the Humanities for making possible the second series of these discussions.